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# THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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## EDITORIAL

Citizenship has had a revival of meaning for people throughout the world. Modern communication is providing individuals with the stimulation and information that leads to increased democratic participation. The radio, the motion picture, the broadened press, and the inexpensive book have made possible an awareness and understanding of the larger community of today that begins to approach the knowledge of affairs that existed in the colonial town where democracy functioned so easily. More and more public affairs are becoming everybody's concern. The war has added to this trend. The tendency, however, is inevitable and will continue. The world of tomorrow will require it.

This increase in democratic activity gives added importance to the citizenship of the foreign-born population. Although only 8.7 per cent of the total population, a smaller number than in the past, they are a far more articulate group for they are older, longer resident, more deeply rooted. Sixty-four per cent are citizens. Almost two thirds are over forty-five years of age, and a fifth are over sixty-five. English is the mother tongue of one out of every five and many of the others have availed themselves of the educational opportunities to learn English. Even those limited in their language ability are kept informed through the foreign language press and radio as well as by long established foreign language organizations. They

are participating in the war program although certain social barriers may have made this difficult. They are the parents and grandparents of a large proportion of the men in the armed forces and on the assembly lines. Their increasing integration into American society is clearly evident.

What they think, what they value, what is important to them today and tomorrow, what meaning they attach to citizenship is a vital part of American life. It is essential that we see this clearly and provide a political, economic, and social life that makes possible their easy and socially sound participation. It means the continuance of opportunities for training in English and citizenship subjects for those who still need them. But more important it means creating a social situation where the shy and hesitant are encouraged, where foreign names are no hindrance to employment, where differences in manner and accent do not set people apart but rather create friendly interest. The citizenship of the foreign born can only have its best value in a society that realizes the commonness of the broad objectives and at the same time values individual and group differences.

RUTH Z. MURPHY



## THE MEANING OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

EDWARD J. ENNIS

In choosing what profitably may be said on the meaning of American citizenship, it will occur at once to all that citizenship in the United States means many things common to citizenship in other nations, but it also possesses unique and invaluable qualities to be found in no other citizenship, modern or ancient.

It is not to be thought, however, that ancient civilizations did not realize the importance of citizenship. The ancient Greeks, for instance, considered all who were not citizens to be barbarians. Plato divided all humanity into the Hellenes and the Barbarians. Roman citizenship was the dearest possession of the Roman, which is understandable when it is considered that under the harsh rule of the Roman eagles not to be a Roman citizen was to be a slave. In those civilizations it was virtually impossible for one not born a citizen to become one and we should heed the lesson that the decline and fall of the glory of Greece and the power of Rome may have been accelerated by such a policy, a mistake which we must never make. In other civilizations the strong ties binding the citizen and his government together, or the subject and his emperor, were recognized. Under the harsh penal code prevailing in China since the second century before Christ, a person who renounced his country and allegiance was beheaded, and if he attempted the crime but failed to execute it, he was strangled to death. The property of such criminals was confiscated and their wives and children distributed as slaves to the officers of the state. The crime was considered so terrible that even parents, grandparents, brothers, and grandchildren of such criminals were banished.

During the middle ages where absolute monarchies were the prevailing form of government, citizenship, either as it had been known in Greece and Rome or as we know it today, was replaced

by a completely different concept of monarch and subject, an allegiance which emphasized the tie between monarch and subject at the expense of the ties that bind the people among themselves; for citizenship in a democracy is not only the reciprocal rights and duties between the citizen and his government, the exchange of the allegiance of the individual for the protection of the state, but its most significant characteristics are the obligations which citizens owe each other to live in common brotherhood.

In our nation American citizenship was born when our political forefathers in the Declaration of Independence recorded that they were severing the ties that made them subjects of a foreign king. From that day every person born in this country who adhered to his allegiance to the British Crown became an alien. In enjoying the heritage of the citizenship thus born in 1776 we too seldom realize its value in terms of the price that was paid for it in wresting it from a powerful monarch in bloody revolution. Those who were not born with it but fought to achieve it realized its value and lost no opportunity to preserve it in the fundamental law. The first compact between the States, the Articles of Confederation of 1777, provided that the free inhabitants of each of the States shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States. When the Constitution of the United States, which remains the fundamental law today, was adopted the concept of citizenship received important attention. Article 4, Section 2, provides that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States. In view of our unique constitutional system under which the people owe allegiance to the State and the nation exercising sovereignty over the same territory, our citizenship has a dual character. Although the Constitution referred to citizens of the United States it was generally believed until slavery precipitated the issue that Federal citizenship was subordinate to State citizenship and the protection afforded by the law to citizens of one State against discriminatory action by another State was an attribute of their State citizenship. For example, the

constitutional provision just mentioned required that the citizens of each State could move freely and carry on ordinary business in the other States without undue discrimination. Thus citizenship, under the Constitution, was made one of the means by which the people of the various States were brought together into a constitutional union and State isolationist elements were prevented from setting up barriers to free commercial and social intercourse among the peoples of the various States which would have prevented this from becoming a great nation. In this respect it may be stated that American citizenship derives its value not only from the greatness of the United States, but that the United States in turn has derived its power in part from the protection of the rights of citizenship. The issue of slavery brought forward the importance of Federal as distinct from State citizenship. The Dred Scott decision in 1857, which stated that a State could not give a Negro citizenship that had to be recognized in another State, was wiped out by the bloody struggle of the Civil War which resulted in the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States—that all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. Again we learned that the rights of citizenship could be preserved and increased only at the greatest possible human cost—which is summed up in the words “civil war.” Thenceforth every person born in the United States, regardless of color or creed, and every person naturalized under the laws of the United States became endowed with all of the precious rights of citizenship and with the complete protection of our Government in the enjoyment of the privileges of that citizenship.

The Fourteenth Amendment reversed the former situation under which State citizenship was paramount and Federal citizenship derivative or secondary and made Federal citizenship paramount to State citizenship. The nature of the rights and privileges of that

Federal citizenship distinct from the rights of State citizenship, however, were not clear and the courts have constituted a battleground upon which the rights of Federal citizenship against discriminatory State action or even Federal action have been continually fought and usually won by the proponents of the extension of the rights of Federal citizenship. Despite the plain words of the Fourteenth Amendment that every one born in the United States is a citizen thereof, the Supreme Court in 1897 held by the bare majority of five of the nine members of the Court that a person born in the United States of Chinese alien parents was a citizen of the United States despite the fact that most of his youth was spent abroad with his parents. Only a few years ago in the Hague case the Supreme Court gave the protection of Federal law to citizens of the United States deported from Jersey City by local authorities because they attempted to exercise their rights of free speech and assembly. In innumerable judicial skirmishes the rights of free speech, free assembly, free press, and the right to travel about the country from one State to another, whether indigent or not, are being upheld by the courts as rights of Federal citizenship and it is in these vindications of civil rights that we find much of the real meaning of American citizenship.

One of the greatest aspects of American citizenship from which it derives much of its meaning is the naturalization process. From the beginning of our Government we have encouraged citizenship by naturalization. That citizenship by naturalization has been a reciprocal gift. In return for the citizenship tendered them by this Government, immigrants from all over the world have come not empty handed but with a rich inheritance which has become part of our national strength. That great humanitarian, President Wilson, stated it much better than I can when he addressed a group of new citizens in Philadelphia in 1916:

This is the only country in the world which experiences this constant and repeated rebirth. Other countries depend upon the multiplication of their own native people. This country is constantly drinking strength

out of new sources by the voluntary association with it of great bodies of strong men and forward looking women out of other lands And so by the gift of the free will of independent people it is being constantly renewed from generation to generation by the same process by which it was originally created. It is as if humanity had determined to see to it that this great Nation, founded for the benefit of humanity, should not lack for the allegiance of the people of the world.

In exploring the meaning of American citizenship I have discussed its rights and privileges, which are its more important aspects in time of peace, but at present when the fate and future of this nation and of that citizenship depend upon the outcome of total world war, the essence of the meaning of American citizenship for the present is not found in its rights and privileges but in its obligations—that obligation of allegiance and service to the nation and to each other demands that the citizenship originally won and more than once preserved by bloody war must again be protected by every sacrifice, including life itself. The willingness to make that sacrifice is what American citizenship means today to the more than seven million men in the armed forces of the United States. The willingness to make every sacrifice that our Government calls upon them to make is what that citizenship must mean to every citizen.

In the postwar world American citizenship will mean even more in human rights than it has ever meant before. Already American citizenship guarantees freedom of speech and of religion and in large measure the freedom from want and fear set forth in the Atlantic Charter. When victory is ours, and victory will be ours, these rights will be preserved and extended and American citizenship as an essential part of democracy will develop into a model of the rights of man. The human rights protected by it will become the object and the goal of all humanity and if and when the brotherhood of man is ever expressed in a world citizenship it will be founded upon the rights of American citizenship. All this, I believe, is the meaning and the future of American citizenship.

is critically necessary to the precision and perfection of the planes now devastating the Axis on all fronts.

One thing we fight for, as all peoples have ever fought, is our land. We tend in this country to think of the foreign born as city people and that may be one reason why some of us continue to separate the "foreign born" from the rest of the Americans. We need only to think of the land and our farms that extend from one coast to the other and from the Red River of the North to the Rio Grande and the Gulf of Mexico to realize that we are many people becoming one. For the food we all eat, which we now supply to our Allies and which we will carry into all the occupied countries we liberate, has been harvested by the hands of every nation. American Swedes in the Middle West, American Czechs in Texas, American Italians and Poles in the Connecticut Valley, American Germans in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakotas, American Mexicans throughout the Southwest, American Ukrainians and American Slovaks in Pennsylvania, American Danes, American Norwegians in the Northwest, American Anglo-Saxons wherever there are farms—this is but a partial roll call of the farmers of America at war—the fathers and mothers of sons like Joe Foss who fight in the air and on the sea to make certain that freedom stays alive on this land.

There are 4,200,000 aliens, 7,250,000 foreign-born citizens, and 23,000,000 first generation Americans—a total of 34,450,000 people of recent foreign origin. According to the Bureau of the Census, 22,100,000 of these stated in 1940 that they were born and spent their early childhood in homes where English was not the spoken language. The enduring strength of mother tongues on American soil is revealed by the fact that nearly 3,000,000 native-born Americans of native parentage are included among those born in homes where English was seldom spoken. Of these, 925,000 are of German origin, 718,000 of Spanish-American origin, 418,000 of French origin.

With the mass of new Americans so large, and with their role in

the war so vital, it is natural that several government agencies born out of the war concern themselves with the foreign language groups.

It is to the credit of the overseas operation of the Office of War Information that radio and pressmen have gone down into America as she breathes among the foreign language groups and brought out of her for broadcast and publication over the world stories of American Poles, Czechoslovaks, Italians, Finns, and others of the more than two score nationalities who make America home. These voices and the stories of the people are beamed to their countries of origin.

It has become a truism that the vast majority of new Americans outdo themselves in loyalty. America is as fresh to them as the morning, and for her freedoms they feel a gratitude that older Americans, who take freedom for granted, seldom experience. The Treasury Department, for example, established a section of its war savings staff to reach the foreign language groups. It reports that foreign language communities, organizations, and individuals exceed their quotas in drive after drive, pledging and buying overwhelming amounts.

Most new Americans are American citizens first of all—that unquestioningly and unquestionably. But these large fractions of citizenry which retain concurrently a lively concern for the fate of their “old countries” have been stirred by the war into a new self-consciousness and life. In recognition of these important political forces shortly before Pearl Harbor, a Foreign Nationalities Branch of the Office of Strategic Services was created to maintain contact with these groups and to study and report foreign political developments among them.

The prelude to war brought into existence the Alien Registration Unit of the Department of Justice, designed to give us basic information about aliens within the United States, and the Special War Policies Unit of the Department of Justice, one of whose duties is to follow the foreign language press and the activities of foreign

language organizations and foreign agents. The war itself brought the War Relocation Authority, established to take care of the people of Japanese origin ousted from certain military zones.

Another illustration of one agency concentrating itself on one group in our population is the *Division of Inter-American Activities* in the United States, a part of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. In carrying out their program of informing the American people about our neighbors to the South, they have given special attention to the Spanish-speaking Americans, the bulk of whom are of Mexican origin.

In this work they have cooperated with the Foreign Language Division of the Office of War Information, which serves as the clearing agency of the Government in reaching the foreign language groups of the United States through press and radio.

On a smaller, specialized scale, the Foreign Language Division seeks to clarify the origin, issues, and progress of the war for the millions of Americans who speak foreign languages or who maintain ties and interests in the lands of their origin. It seeks to gain their maximum support for and participation in this fight for freedom.

There are approximately 1,200 newspapers—including 110 dailies—published in the United States in 38 foreign languages. This includes 200 German newspapers and 130 Italian newspapers. Two are published in languages unheard of by most Americans—Wendish and Ladino. Statistics prepared by Ayer's Newspaper Directory reveal that 182 foreign language papers have individual circulations of at least 10,000, and a total circulation of 4,175,241. A conservative estimate of the total circulation and readership of the foreign language press is 10,000,000. Over three fourths of the papers are consistent users of the releases, articles, speeches, news, and feature stories sent to them by our Government.

There are 150 standard radio stations in the United States broadcasting in 29 languages to an estimated listening audience of 8,000,000. The Foreign Language Division is in direct touch with



all 150 radio stations and has succeeded in bringing about a marked increase in the volume of prodemocratic material and war information they are carrying.

The Foreign Language Division has sought to emphasize that this is not a racial or a national war, but a war against dictatorship and for the freedom of people of every race, color, and creed. Because it is a war for freedom it is America's war—for we cannot live in a world half slave and half free.

A good share of this work has been based on making full use of the very weapon that Hitler thought we did not possess—a spiritual unity, the stronger for its diverse national basis—full use of the belief that here in the United States the concept of the United Nations is a living, working reality. Within our own borders we can, if we will, set the pathway for a better, happier future of mankind based on international and interracial coöperation.

The foreign born and their children are already contributing to that better world with the blood they are shedding on the battlefronts and the sweat they are shedding in the factories and on the farms on the home front.

The great failure of Goebbels in America—the greatest failure of Goebbels in the world—is summed up by the millions of Americans of Czechoslovakian, Yugoslavian, Polish, Hungarian, Italian, German, and other national origins who are contributing all within their power to the fight for freedom because they are convinced that victory for America means victory for their lands of origin. They have a double incentive to work, fight, and die for freedom—freedom for not one but two beloved lands.

After victory is won, these groups of New Americans can contribute much to the struggle to establish a sound, enduring peace. For together these powerful groups want a peace that is good not only for America but for all the nations of the world. They will support that kind of a peace. They can help America—and many other lands—to forge that kind of a peace.

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## AMERICANS ON THE FRINGES

ANNIE CLO WATSON

Whites and Negroes have long been labeled by our immigration and naturalization laws as "indigenous" races eligible to enter this country under national quotas and subsequently to become citizens. When our newly codified nationality laws went into effect in 1940, Mexicans and people from the other Americas who carry in their veins blood of the aborigines were also legally recognized as being indigenous. Although the American nations are and have always been free from quota restrictions, there had been prior to 1940 a few instances in which naturalization was refused for the reason that the petitioners from one of those countries happened to be non-white or Indian. Only the people of the Asiatic Far East and of the Pacific Islands still remain beyond the pale as far as the legal processes of immigration and naturalization are concerned. Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, the native inhabitants of India and the Philippines are the best known of the nationalities now classified as "ineligible" to become citizens by naturalization.<sup>1</sup>

Small colonies of these Asiatic and Pacific Island nationals, called Orientals to distinguish them from Occidentals, were already established in the United States when final exclusion regulations (for all except Filipinos) went into effect in 1924. They were scattered largely along the Pacific Coast and with the raising of legal barriers against them their geographical location became almost symbolic of their accentuated social situation as people on the fringes of American life.

To the majority of Americans the term immigrant is synonymous with European. And numerically people of European stock do exceed by far all other population divisions. They have long been the great laboratory for the development of laws and regulations

<sup>1</sup> Recent exception provides that men of all races serving in the armed forces of the United States may become naturalized

applicable to the foreign born and their communities the testing ground of a succession of theories about Americanization, the "melting pot," assimilation, or currently of social integration. So few Negroes are foreign born that at this time they are hardly to be considered in the immigration picture; their problems are due fundamentally to race discrimination rather than to nationality or cultural differences. The immigrant groups now emerging and claiming attention are those already referred to as people with whom this country as a whole has heretofore had meager acquaintance: approximately 3,500,000 Mexicans, 77,504 Chinese, 1,711 Koreans, 126,947 Japanese, 2,405 Hindus, 45,563 Filipinos.

These figures include the American born as well as the foreign born in continental United States. All persons born in this country are American citizens regardless of whether their parents are aliens ineligible to citizenship or of a race classified as indigenous. Nevertheless, the legal status of citizen does not necessarily mean social acceptance, not even in the broad sense of the term, and therefore citizens and aliens alike, particularly where there is appreciable concentration of population, are living in segregated areas familiarly known as Mexican Towns, Chinatowns, or in days gone by Little Tokyos. In skilled and professional occupations, discrimination against them is the rule and the doors to civic participation in general are closed to them even though the third and fourth generations of native Americans have made their appearance.

The situation, however, is not necessarily static. The present nationwide need for man and woman power in agriculture, defense industry, and the armed forces is bringing about a mobility of population unprecedented even in the United States. South is moving into north, east into west, and vice versa. Little pockets of people everywhere are "breaking out and going places." Even the Amerindians in considerable numbers are leaving their reservations. The prevailing mood of moving people and people at war is not apathy, prejudice against minorities therefore which in the past may have

been quiescent is now on the march. On the other hand, there is ever increasing conviction as to our need of national unity. A closer view of a few problems prevalent among groups set apart in communities because of a combination of legal, cultural, and racial factors may suggest ameliorative measures long overdue on national as well as local levels.

Federal exclusion laws applicable to Oriental immigrants have direct and discriminatory effect upon Americans of Oriental ancestry. For example, all other American citizens both native and naturalized have the right to bring in alien spouses; Joe Chelekis whose parents are Greek may marry a girl in Greece and bring her back to this country under regulations less strict than those pertaining to regular immigrants, and for her also the law provides a simpler naturalization process. Sam Wong, a native citizen whose parents are Chinese, on the other hand, cannot under any circumstances bring in his wife from China to reside here, even though they may have children. It is not uncommon therefore among American Orientals to find fathers and children permanently separated from mothers, as well as other configurations of family separation. In such cases, the tendency of the law to strengthen and dignify family relationships for Americans of European parentage is the opposite for Americans whose background happens to be Asiatic.

Another restriction which applies to a comparatively small group of American citizens is nonetheless real and symptomatic of the kinds of difficulties involved in total exclusion of immigration. Alien treaty merchants or international traders from China and Japan could come in before the war and bring their alien wives and children to reside here as long as they were engaged in business. United States citizens who were also engaged in international trade were not permitted to bring their alien wives, and were therefore penalized because of their American birth. The law has not been changed and will be in active effect again when trade is resumed. Since merchants are in a position to be well known, this inequality

of privilege between alien and citizen has an effect upon the morale of the Oriental community out of proportion to the number of people directly affected.

The total effects upon individuals and family life of the denial of naturalization on the basis of racial ineligibility are hard to estimate. With increasing stress being put on status, opportunities to work particularly in a chosen field and in defense industry may be dependent upon American citizenship. Alien registration was a source of keen embarrassment to many Orientals who had identified themselves with this country: one man who was brought here at the age of five, who had gone through public school and university, and had let his children believe he was an American, felt "dishonored and depressed" at having to stand in line and be fingerprinted. Pardee Lowe in his recent autobiography *Father and Glorious Descendant*<sup>1</sup> deals at length with the desire of his father to be an American citizen. Hundreds of others less well known are daily voicing conviction that inability of parents and children to have the same legal status helps to widen the distance between two generations who bear also the strain of cultural difference; and in a time of crisis like the present when war raises questions of loyalty, the forced separation of families into two citizenship categories brings fear and confusion and insurmountable practical difficulties to parents and children alike.

To all Americans the evacuation and detention of the Japanese constitute a problem in citizenship which is both legal and moral. The majority of American citizen Japanese, some of whom are third generation, through no fault of their own are still within relocation centers where, by virtue of the set up, their full rights and responsibilities as citizens cannot be exercised. Their experience, unique in American history, brings us face to face with the necessity of deciding whether (1) citizenship is to be defined differently for different groups of the citizenry, thus establishing first-class, second-

<sup>1</sup> Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1943.

class, or even third-class citizenship, (2) all young Americans in the words of a second generation Japanese are to be "brought up alike on hot dogs, baseball, and the Constitution" and later subjected to what may be to them "a great bafflement," (3) citizenship in its full meaning is to be applicable alike to all who bear it. *All* race minority groups have a special stake in the answer to these questions which are involved not only in the settlement of colossal problems such as the evacuation, but in day-by-day minutiae which for example may be nothing more than the question of applying consistent administrative procedures to all Americans of whatever ancestry in the handling of "status documents" such as birth certificates and passports.

Discriminatory Federal legislation also provides sanction for similar State laws. In California for instance, the "alien land law" denies to foreign-born Orientals the right to own property even though they may be the parents of young American children for whom provision of an established home and economic security would by all standards be desirable. In several States marriage of Caucasians with Mongolians and Malaysians is forbidden by laws which have little practical value, inasmuch as State boundaries are easy to cross for those who really desire to marry, and which serve chiefly as a brand of inferiority for nonwhite people. Also for the slowly increasing group of persons of mixed European and Asiatic strains, the psychological as well as the social handicaps imposed by such legislation are apparent.

As we said in the beginning, there are not only legal but also social barriers against full-fledged citizenship participation by American Orientals; in the case of Mexicans the statutes on the law books recognize them as white with corresponding privileges, but their Indian blood regardless of the law is used as a basis too frequently for setting them apart. Although in both groups cultural difference is real and somewhat persistent, time and other factors would obliterate it finally and more rapidly if pressures of the dominant

group were lifted. On the whole, the youth as well as the elders of these racially variant peoples are disposed to be loyal citizens; but they are more than anxious over their outlook in school, in industry, in other occupational fields, and in some phases of organized labor; over residential restrictions made both by law and by housing covenants; over their limited access to many organizations which are so much a part of the life of Americans; and over ordinary services which are too frequently denied them. Like all other people they want to participate and to have some sense of their own importance.

The evacuation of the Japanese and the zoot-suit riots are samples of what can happen in a democracy if people of one kind remain isolated in easily identifiable groups. Such separation is a threat to their own welfare, to the social health of the nation as a whole, and to peace among nations. Success of the "good neighbor" policy in Mexico for example is dependent upon the "good neighbor" policy at home with Americans of Mexican origin, and, to be powerfully effective, the four freedoms for the world will have to begin with the four freedoms for the people on the fringes of American life.

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## SECURITY FOR THE FAMILY OF THE FOREIGN BORN

A. DELAFIELD SMITH

Every individual enters society through the medium of the family. From his identification with the family in a reasonably normal pattern of familial relationships the individual derives his basic feeling of security in life and his resistance to disintegrating influences. Normally the individual should always live as a family member, and therefore subject to the continuing pressure of those powerful urges and constraints which are imposed by the sense of family loyalty and obligation.

The family is the unit or lowest common denominator of society. Its allegiances precede all other social ties. Family loyalties properly yield only to impulses and constraints which have a religious significance to the individual.

State and national loyalties and allegiances are also the product of individualized relationships. But this is a relatively modern development. The ancient hierarchy proceeding from the family and the clan to the tribe and the state is a popular and very general conception. In the development of the citizenship idea, the law of the blood came first. But military exigency demands an exclusive and uninhibited loyalty. Personalized loyalty to the state, moreover, was the essential means whereby the state at length triumphed over the more primitive but instinctively strong tribal bonds. Small wonder, then, that great state-builders have promoted the cause of state allegiance through the identification of political and religious symbols. Thus was power created through the regimentation of individuals. The development of a strong force requires alignment of individuals of uniform characteristics, a regimentation in the main of young men or, it may be, of young women, but, in any event, an organizing of individuals according to age and sex.



The family, on the other hand, is a union of individuals of varying age and opposite sex, firmly and instinctively bonded one to the other, and providing, therefore, an individually secure and socially stable unit.

It appears to be the essential condition of a secure and stable society. While the state cries for manpower and then, again, for woman power, it basically needs today above all else family power; for the social organism can appropriately function only when it is basically stabilized. To use a military metaphor, each new front requires an immediate stabilization.

Today our dynamic western cultures are again threatened with disintegration bred of the rampant urge for domination. More effective agencies of social stabilization are the immediate need. The heightened prestige of the family is the social objective of today as it was in the middle ages, when a relatively stable pattern of social institutions had to be constructed anew among the ashes of a completely disintegrated culture. We seem, however, to be gaining an acute awareness of that need in the crisis that confronts us.

The most effective implement that we have been able to devise to assist this reconstruction project is the system of social security. Social security provides genuine security and becomes a powerful factor in social stabilization to the extent that it serves the cause of the family. As fundamental as the drive for domination is the drive for self-preservation, sustenance, and health. *The family as the social unit is of necessity the economic unit.* Familial obligations include, basically, economic obligations. The members of the family are also the natural personal guardians one of the other. Assurance of the adequate financial implementation and service of these primary familial obligations is the cause of social security. By this means we can succeed in neutralizing the pressures that lead to family disruption and hence to social disintegration. We must in the process use the homes that survive the storms of this upheaval to provide natural sanctums for the waifs of war. We must stabilize our society.

The family as the common and ubiquitous unit of human society is a truly international institution. Its scorn of nationality lines is the condition for the performance of its function of racial and cultural integration. In common with all other basically constructive social forces, its processes are eternally slow, but its achievements are enduring. Its accomplishments to date have confounded most efforts and will ultimately confound all efforts at nationality and race segregation of individuals. The deep antagonisms thus engendered through the disregard of familial relationships had better not be challenged.

But as the family is international so obviously must be the instrumentalities of its defense and reconstruction. The absence of citizenship conditions is an acid test of the true orientation of programs intended to promote human or social security. Obviously, it is as inconsistent to premise participation in a system of social security on state relationships as it would be to condition the issuance of a marriage license on the citizenship of the bride and groom. Social security must be international.

In the main, programs of social security recognize that fact. The federally operated program of old-age and survivors' insurance is intended to supply income that fails upon the passing of the wage earner's productive years by reason of old age or death. As presently constructed, it provides a system of monthly insurance benefits, computed in relation to an individual's average monthly wage, payable to eligible persons of either sex over 65 years of age and within the present coverage of the Act. Under this system, also, wives and widows over 65 years of age, of fully insured persons who then constitute the primary annuitants, and unmarried children under 18 are included as beneficiaries and provision is also made for eligible widows of fully and currently insured individuals whatever their age or the date of their husband's death (on and after January 1, 1940) so long as they have in their care a child eligible for benefits. In the absence of a widow or children who may be eligible, also, dependent parents over 65 may participate. This system definitely

recognizes the economic interdependence of the family. Participation is in no way conditioned on citizenship. Employment, in relation to which such wages may have been paid, includes services by an employee for the person employing him irrespective of the citizenship or residence of either, such employment being within the United States or on an American vessel, as stated in the Act. Furthermore, there is no limitation on the benefit structure in terms either of alienage or of residence.

In a sense the programs of public assistance are the most basically humane of all. They deal directly with the imminent disruption of family relationships. An essential aim of these programs is to make it possible for the individual to be raised and trained and to be maintained within the sanctum of the family. However, the administration of the public assistance programs under the Social Security Act has been left most appropriately, it is believed, to State administration. The Act is in the main merely permissive in indicating the scope of inclusion of these programs. The result is that the States have been free to exclude aliens from the assistance programs if they so desire and nearly half our States still do so, notwithstanding the financial participation of the Federal Government. Aliens are affected much more intimately by State legislation than they are by national legislation in all that concerns the conditions of family life and employment. No doubt, some of the State laws run awry of constitutional principles, especially of that which reserves to the Federal Government the right to state the conditions under which aliens are to be admitted and to live within this country. But welfare has been traditionally a matter of State and local concern. It is becoming a matter of national and international concern. To local tradition, however, must be ascribed the responsibility for the extent of alien discrimination occurring in these programs.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Significant indeed in relation to the attitudes urged in this article is the action taken this year by two of our great eastern seaboard States—New York and New Jersey. Both have authorized the inclusion of aliens in their Federal-State security programs of public assistance and have thus terminated the past discrimination in this area. Cf. *Laws of New York 1943*, Ch. 472, and *Laws of New Jersey 1943*, Ch. 164, effective in this respect as of December 31, 1943.

The absence of citizenship conditions in this system is not a legal consideration merely. Within the limits of feasibility it is also an administrative consideration. It entails the payment of benefits beyond the territorial and hence jurisdictional boundaries of the United States. A tribute must be paid to the draftsmen of these provisions of the Social Security Act whose basic conceptions were able to stand out against and to defeat inconsistent proposals such as the one that would have prevented payments to persons residing more than fifty miles from our territorial boundaries. In the same way also the Federal-State program of insurance against unemployment arising from the failure of occupational availability is premised on employer-employee relationships unqualified by any nationality consideration. In this respect the program reflects the attack made against alien discrimination which occurred under some of the State workmen's compensation laws.

In wartime because of individual relationships to enemy states we have "alien enemies" in our midst. In this war there has been a new appreciation, however, of the need to disengage the service of the economic and social needs of the individual from the issue of national loyalties. It seems to be recognized that the international situation can be stabilized only by providing for the security of the family, and hence by insisting upon the continuity and expansion of the services of welfare and social security.

This, of course, has been a basic and far-reaching issue. It was early manifested, for example, in the careful formulation of the regulations of the United States Treasury Department in relation to payments made to enemy aliens. Wisely it was decided to permit payments and transfers of credit within limits that would permit payments of security benefits and transfer of credit essential to individual maintenance and travel.

The basic purpose has been evident also in policies related to food distribution, and in the emphasis placed on welfare administration in occupied countries. In this country it has been evident, too, in the

programs of civilian war assistance to civilians and the dependents of civilians whether citizens or aliens who might be injured in the course of enemy attack, or in the operation of measures taken to meet enemy attack, including, for example, civilian defense workers who might be injured in the course of their duties. Similar provision has been made to meet the emergent needs of enemy aliens and others who were or might for the common safety be evacuated from designated areas. These particular programs have been carried on, pending Congressional consideration of a more permanent scheme for meeting these needs, by means of executive allocations to the Federal Security Agency for administration by its constituent units, especially the United States Public Health Service and the Social Security Board.

The policy of administering these war programs in large part through State instrumentalities has been substantially successful. It is thus sought to carry the national appreciation of their essential purpose and efficacy into the States and localities. Here, however, we meet the issue of internationalism squarely, for the significance of security as an agency of social stabilization must be brought home to all our peoples everywhere, above all in those areas where the folk of enemy alien countries are most numerous.

The conviction is rapidly spreading that the need of the immediate future is a broader pattern of social security; broader not only in its provision against the uncontrollable hazards of life that make their mass attack on family life, but broader, too, in the need for international coöperation in effectuating these plans. This extension should be regarded as a natural development in which the faith exhibited before and during the war period is simply carried on. It is a faith that must run deep, so deep that even the existing tempest cannot basically disturb its fruition.

The Beveridge plan in England is matched in this country by the scheme for expanding our State and national programs of social security. Nearly every nation throughout the world is now con-

cerned with this enterprise. The specific recommendations of the American plan are contained in the latest report (for the year 1942) of the Social Security Board to the Congress of the United States and in the main are incorporated in the recent Wagner Bill, S. 1161. They are echoed in the comprehensive program of social planning for the postwar period indicated in the report of the National Resources Planning Board to the President of the United States.

The first purpose should perhaps be to remove some of the inconsistencies that arise from the limitations of the existing programs in this country both in relation to the type of hazard that is covered as well as in respect of the classifications of individuals who can participate. Permanent disability, for example, like old age and death terminates earning power. From the long-range standpoint, moreover, orderly provision for the retirement of disabled workers and their replacement by others whose efficiency is unimpaired is important for industry as well as for the individuals involved. This principle is likely to prove of special importance in the years following the war. Temporary disability, also, is much like temporary unemployment. Provision of cash benefits for temporary disability would strike at a serious cause of poverty and would remove the incongruity inherent in conditioning benefits for unemployment upon the fact that the individual is physically able to take the job which is offered to him.

The Social Security Board believes that extension of coverage under the system of old-age and survivors' insurance to include agricultural labor, domestic service, public employment, services for nonprofit institutions, and self-employment is now of paramount importance to the objectives of social security in war and in peace.

Above all, however, medical insurance and medical care should be provided. As Sir William Beveridge puts it in simple terms, arrangements must be made whereby the costs of illness are provided for during the earning period. The serious aspect of medical costs lies not in the average among the population as a whole but in the

comparatively heavy burdens of families in which there is major illness or prolonged illness during the year. The Social Security Board is of the opinion that the risk of hospital insurance is one to which the approach of social insurance is particularly apposite.

Federal matching grants should be available for approved State plans which provide assistance to any child whose family resources are insufficient to ensure healthful growth and development, whatever the reason. Great Britain, for example, is giving serious consideration to establishing flat-sum allowances for nearly all children. In addition, an over-all program of public assistance is needed to meet situations in which insurance protection is inadequate, or where for any reason the situation is not met under the program or programs of social insurance. Obviously, too, wherever administration is more appropriately left to the States the Federal provisions should ensure adequate standards entirely irrespective of the locality wherein the need arises and—is it necessary to add!—without regard to any considerations of race or nationality.

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## ADULT EDUCATION FOR VICTORY AND PEACE

PAUL H. SHEATS

This article attempts an overview of a few of the significant trends in adult education today and suggests several guiding principles for the future. In this future, Americanization and citizenship training have a continuing and important part to play.

### BACKDROP FOR THE PRESENT

In the midst of the changes and the new tasks which the war has brought to the field of adult education in the United States it is easy to forget that, as a professional movement, adult education in this country is still in a pioneer stage and, one might add, subject to many of the risks and much of the confusion which go with frontier life. Within the lifespan of most of the persons who will read these pages the term adult education has been broadened to include many programs and many activities in addition to the Americanization and literacy work with which, at first, it was almost exclusively identified. Today adult education operates *via* radio, movie, press, and classroom, *for* parents, alumni, farmers, workers, soldiers, and tired businessmen; *in* schools, settlement houses, libraries, museums, music halls, and prisons; *with* classes in everything from social dancing to Sanskrit and, reversing the order, from Plato to Poise and Personality.

There are at least three points which should be made concerning this rapid growth and expansion of adult education:

1. The earlier concentration on literacy and Americanization was in response to a very specific and real need for such training and was based on the assumption that other adult needs would be fairly well taken care of through a system of universal and compulsory education for youth. Our faith in universal education may not have been weakened during the years, but our reliance upon it is certainly not encouraged by the amazing evidence of the low educational



attainment of our present adult population revealed in the 1940 census reports. It is a fact not to be taken lightly that out of a group of 75 adults representing 75 million persons in the United States 25 years of age or over, 10 would have 4 years of schooling or less (3 no schooling at all), 46 would have more than 4 years of elementary school but less than 4 years of high school, 15 would have 4 years of high school, and only 3 would be college graduates. Point one, therefore, is that earlier efforts to reduce adult illiteracy cannot be relaxed now, but that rather the war necessitates an even more extensive effort on this front.

2. Point two in our brief recent history of adult education is that functional literacy as a goal for the movement is not enough. Whether such literacy is achieved through instruction in the elementary schools or in adult classes, it must be extended and supplemented if we are to achieve even the minimum knowledge and understanding required for informed citizen participation in community affairs.

3. Point three merely restates a fact already obvious to all leaders in adult education; namely, that adults themselves will demand new services and new activities as they become aware of the range of needs that can be satisfied through the facilities of a good community school. The kind of programs now offered to the adults of towns and cities in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and California cannot for very long be denied to the citizens of other States with more limited offerings. It seems likely that the war will accelerate this development and introduce a period of expansion in adult-education activities beside which the record of the past 15 years will seem dwarfed in comparison.

#### WAR TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN ADULT EDUCATION

1 The operation of the Selective Service System has focused national attention on the incidence of illiteracy among registrants. Out of the first two million men called about 100,000 were rejected

because of educational deficiencies. Some unofficial estimates put the educational disqualification rate as high as 12 per cent. The Army considers it possible to reclaim 750,000 men from the draft age, physically fit but educationally deficient group. Although more than 250 special training units have been established by the Army to provide instruction in reading, writing, and simple arithmetic, the reservoir of manpower represented by these 750,000 men is hardly tapped. Meanwhile, with the Army rapidly approaching its full strength, our continuing failure to prepare larger numbers of these men for induction means that skilled workmen, heads of families, and agricultural workers may have to take their places.

It might be of interest to note further that in the Army's special training units a 13-week prebasic training course is provided, but the average inductee in this group is ready for transfer at the end of 8 weeks. Although official figures have not been released by the Army, it is reliably reported that over half of those enrolled in these special training units have been able to qualify for specialist training. When the story of the Army's educational campaign against illiteracy is finally told in its entirety, we may find that the formula for rapid eradication of total illiteracy in this country has been discovered. With four States in which over 30 per cent of those 25 years of age and over now report fourth-grade educational attainment or less and with 10 million adults in the United States in this category, there is both an immediate and a long-term need for an attack along the whole front. In the face of present war manpower needs, this wastage of potential power cannot safely be ignored much longer.

2. For much the same reason the special problems presented by the approximately 700,000 totally illiterate aliens in this country become especially acute. It is estimated that as many as two million aliens are functionally illiterate. Dean Russell of Teachers College has pointed out that thus far "this rich potential source of manpower is relatively untapped."

3. The war has brought a tremendous increase in the number and variety of vocational courses for the training of workers in war industries. Ninety-four million dollars in Federal aid for vocational courses of less than college grade and 30 million dollars for engineering, science, and management war training have been appropriated to the *United States Office of Education* during the last fiscal year. In addition the Office received 15 million dollars for rural war production training and one million dollars for the development of visual aids in the same field. Already plans are being made for post-war vocational rehabilitation and adjustment of at least 39 million Americans now in the armed services or war industries.

4. The educational activities of the war agencies in fields other than vocational education should be included in our list of war developments. The Office of Education in its relationship with schools and colleges and particularly through its system of key information centers has attempted to promote citizen understanding of the issues of the war. The Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs through its Division of Science and Education has prepared materials and stimulated workshops, conferences, and institutes to promote inter-American understanding. The Office of Price Administration, the Office of Civilian Defense, and the Office of War Information have all designed programs to promote citizen understanding of the war and hence depend for their effectiveness on educational leadership and coöperation at the community level.

5. Finally, less tangible, but equally important for the field of adult education, is the rise of new concepts concerning the role of the individual citizen and established community institutions in the war effort.

Before the war some 60 or 70 per cent of our people were not identified with any community organization or activity if church membership is excluded from consideration. Now, the strength of the democratic system is to be found in an alert, participating citi-

zenry, acquainted with the meanings of democracy, willing to share in the responsibilities as well as the privileges of citizenship. Democracy must be lived, practised, experienced if it is to retain its vitality. Just as one cements a friendship by a mutual exchange of responsibilities—so do all of us find in participation a bond to and a stake in the way of life we call democracy. We can find such a stake most quickly by sharing in the duties which go with the privilege of living in the neighborhoods and communities to which we belong.

But it took the war with its 10,000 defense councils, its selective service boards, its war rationing boards, its consumer committees, and scrap drives, its war bond campaigns, and civilian volunteer services to bring these forgotten truths home to us again. There are hundreds of thousands of men and women in the towns and cities of this nation today attending first-aid classes, taking training as air-raid wardens or nurses' aides, studying nutrition and home nursing, participating in discussion and study groups, who, for the first time, and often unknowingly, have joined the ranks of those who make up the clientele of the adult-education worker.

Our community agencies of public education too are being changed by the war. The American Library Association has sponsored regional, State, and district institutes to assist librarians in adapting facilities and resources to community needs for information on war issues and postwar problems. The schools, too, have become centers of information and guidance for pupils and adults in the study of ways and means for getting maximum community participation in the war effort. The school can, and in many places has, become a center for the study and discussion of war problems, for rumor analysis, for a consideration of the part which the local community is playing in the war effort—yes, and for a preliminary examination of the headaches that the period of postwar reconstruction will bring.

These wartime trends and developments all buttress the conviction that in postwar America there will come the greatest program

of adult education this world has yet seen. Today we are united in a struggle for a world system in which freedom and justice can prevail. This great purpose depends for its fulfillment upon the use of those instruments of mass education that science has given us so that there may be wisdom and understanding, wise leadership of the wise, as we strive onward toward a better world and a more enduring peace.

#### GUIDEPOSTS FOR TOMORROW

The basis for an enduring peace is to be found (1) in the wider discovery of those truths—that knowledge which transcends political and geographical boundary lines and (2) in a renewed concern for the common weal.

In his annual report for 1941, Raymond B. Fosdick, President of the Rockefeller Foundation said:

For although wars and economic rivalries may for longer or shorter periods isolate nations and split them up into separate groups, the process is never complete because the intellectual life of the world, as far as science and learning are concerned, is definitely internationalized, and whether we wish it or not an indelible pattern of unity has been woven into the society of mankind. There is not an area of activity in which this cannot be illustrated. An American soldier wounded on a battlefield in the Far East owes his life to the Japanese scientist, Kitasato, who isolated the bacillus of tetanus. A Russian soldier, who is saved by a blood transfusion, is indebted to Landsteiner, an Austrian. A German is shielded from typhoid fever with the help of a Russian, Metchnikoff. A Dutch Marine in the East Indies is protected from malaria because of the experiments of an Italian, Grassi; while a British aviator in North Africa escapes death from surgical infection because a Frenchman, Pasteur, and a German, Koch, elaborated a new technique. . . .

Thought cannot be nationalized. The fundamental unity of civilization is the unity of its intellectual life. There is a real sense, therefore, in which the things that divide us are trivial as compared with the things that unite us. The foundations of a cooperative world have already been laid. . . .

Neither national democracy in the United States nor world democracy as the hope for enduring peace could be conceived in ignorance. No more than half-slave half-free, no more than half-rich half-poor can democracy endure half-wise half-ignorant. Adult education has as its peculiar and unique responsibility in a democracy to buttress the extension of political democracy with a democracy of the spirit, a democracy of knowledge. Somehow we must get more general mass assimilation and application of the expert knowledge turned out in the researches of the physical and social scientist. Somehow we must get more of the scientific method into the discussion and management of public affairs.

It will take all the inventive genius of which we are capable to devise ways and means for popularizing knowledge, for providing new and attractive adult-education opportunities so that this tremendous gap between the intellectually rich and the intellectually poor may be partially closed at least. We cannot afford intellectual Brahmanism here.

The bridges of understanding and common knowledge can be built to join the diverse groups in our own country as well as the peoples of the world, but, if this war is to end war, there must be with knowledge a renewed regard for the common weal.

True enough, all the facts in the world will not convert a beet grower in Colorado, a cattle rancher in Montana, a businessman in Massachusetts to the goal of world unity, will not raise his sights beyond the issue of market quotations or a protective tariff unless he has a higher loyalty than that which attaches to the size of his own bank account. That higher loyalty can and will come out of faith in an ideal—from the brief glimpse of the kind of world that lies beyond the ranges of the present war. The people of the nation can and will find in the hope of a world in which a man can stand straight without fear that common ground—that symbol of unity and group purpose to which all lower loyalties must yield.

That hope, implemented by programs of community education

and discussion, can be the driving force to victory. Every adult school, every adult teacher, for the duration becomes a symbol of this nation's continuing faith in the ideal of a world community in which reason and sanity can ensure the right of every man, woman, and child to grow in stature and strength to the full fruition of his powers and in mutual respect, in friendliness, in neighborliness, and good will achieve finally the conditions of world peace.

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# EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

## IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

GLENN KENDALL

The Immigration and Naturalization Service considers that its major responsibility in the field of citizenship education is to further and give impetus to the opportunities in this field through coöperation with public schools in the coördination of the instructional program and the naturalization examination. In no sense is it the function of the Service to conduct classes in citizenship. This right belongs to the States and the local communities. Thoughtful consideration of the problem leads to the conclusion that adult citizenship instruction is logically a part of the total instructional program conducted by local educational authorities. Evidence of satisfactory outcomes in States now operating under such a plan emphasize the desirability of locally controlled and locally operated educational programs.

During recent years, the WPA gave great impetus to citizenship education by assisting the public schools in carrying on a nationwide program in that field. The closing of the WPA left a wide gap in this phase of adult education, and now as never before local communities and school administrators are faced with the responsibility of teaching large numbers of the foreign born in this country. The table on the following page shows the number of certificates of naturalization issued from 1907 up to the present time.

The number of naturalizations rose sharply as a result of World War I. After a slight decline, increased interest in citizenship again caused the number to rise until the depression brought about a marked decrease from 1930 to 1935. Since that time there has been a steady increase in the number of naturalizations.



## ALIENS NATURALIZED

*Years ended June 30, 1907, to June 30, 1943*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>
1907*	7,941	1926	146,331
1908	25,975	1927	199,804
1909	38,374	1928	233,155
1910	39,448	1929	224,728
1911	56,683	1930	160,377
1912	70,310	1931	143,495
1913	83,561	1932	136,600
1914	104,145	1933	113,363
1915	91,848	1934	113,669
1916	87,831	1935	118,945
1917	88,104	1936	141,265
1918	151,449	1937	164,976
1919	217,358	1938	162,078
1920	177,683	1939	188,813
1921	181,292	1940	235,260
1922	170,447	1941	277,294
1923	145,084	1942	270,364
1924	150,510	1943	317,424
1925	152,457		

\* From September 27, 1906, to June 30, 1907.

Already from many parts of the country evidence is available to show that local communities are endeavoring to meet the need that arises out of this increased interest in citizenship. In other sections of the country, for one reason or another, school officials have not been able to accept this responsibility now that the WPA has closed. That there is a definite and vital need for an increase in the extent of citizenship education is not questioned. It is equally true that the local schools need not work alone. Over a period of time, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has lent assistance, whenever possible, to the public schools that are making provision for citizenship education for adults. It has published textbooks on gov-

ernment, and it has coöperated in encouraging the foreign born to attend classes. This Service, together with the public schools and WPA, sponsored the organizing of the National Citizenship Education Program.

Now the Immigration and Naturalization Service is embarking on a program of increased assistance in citizenship education. In order to fulfill its obligation to coöperate with the public schools, the Service expects to contribute in a number of ways to the total field of citizenship education.

There is assembled at the central office in Philadelphia a small staff that will assist in an in-Service training program, keep a supply of educational materials available to the schools, and provide other educational services.

#### COORDINATION ACTIVITIES

The Immigration and Naturalization Service is responsible for the recommendation to the courts of qualified applicants for naturalization. The qualifications of these applicants are determined in part by the naturalization examination. This examination should be an outgrowth of the instructional program offered by the public schools. Through coördination of effort more effective work can be done by both agencies. The Service is planning two steps to improve such coördination. In the first place, a definite training program for employees of the Service is being planned. In the second place, education specialists have been appointed in a few of the district offices to work closely with the school authorities and other agencies in the coördination of the subject matter that is taught and the naturalization examination.

#### EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS

On the basis of sampling, it is estimated that approximately 700,000 of the foreign born in this country sign their names with a cross. Other candidates for naturalization have come here after studying in the best universities of Europe. Obviously, no single

set of materials can adequately meet the needs of students who have such widely differing educational backgrounds. It is for this reason that textbook material is being prepared for persons who have varying degrees of reading ability.

Textbook materials are furnished without charge to students who are in attendance at public-school classes or who are under the supervision of public-school authorities. Other interested persons may purchase the materials from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., at a very nominal price.

Upon request the Service will furnish a complete description of the following materials printed under authority from Congress and now available for distribution:

1. *Our Constitution and Government*, regular edition
2. *Our Constitution and Government*, simplified edition
3. *On the Way to Democracy*, Books 1, 2, and 3, and teacher's edition
4. *The Day Family*, Book 1

Several small books will soon be published for persons who need easy reading material. *The Gardners Become Citizens*, Books 1 and 2, tell a simple story of how a man and his wife obtained their certificates of naturalization. Book 2 presents the story in more detail than does Book 1. *The Rights of the People*, Books 1, 2, 3, and teacher's edition, explain the meaning and significance of the Bill of Rights. This group is similar in style to *On the Way to Democracy*, and will be followed by other groups that interpret the Constitution. Book 2 of *The Day Family* is now being illustrated and will be published at an early date.

Candidates who have a broad educational background and teachers of citizenship will find the American Democracy Series to be of particular help. The first two of these to be published are *What We Have in America* and *This Democracy of Ours*.

Several types of material are contemplated for the use of the

teacher. Among these are guides in organizing and conducting citizenship classes and resource units that suggest ways of broadening and enriching the subject matter of the citizenship classes. In addition to the basic facts of government, good citizenship should include information in other vital areas of living, such as care of health.

#### HOME STUDY

At the present time, many candidates find it difficult to attend regularly organized classes. They may live in sparsely settled regions and find the distance to class too great; their hours of work or the responsibilities of the home may make it impossible for them to attend; or their health may not permit their attendance. The National Citizenship Education Program recognized the needs of this group and set up a project at the University of Nebraska to begin the development of home study materials. On the basis of the experimental work carried on at the University of Nebraska, the Service is now publishing material suitable for home study. The first of these courses will be based upon the simplified edition of *Our Constitution and Government* and is intended for persons who have a fair command of English.

Home study courses can be administered by the various State departments of education and other institutions in the way best suited to their needs. Some will no doubt service the courses directly through their departments of adult education; others may delegate the responsibility to the extension division of their colleges and universities; still another group may encourage the local schools to direct the home study and correct the papers of the students. In short, the program of home study is highly flexible and can be adapted to a variety of situations.

#### NAMES OF CANDIDATES FOR CITIZENSHIP

The Service is coöperating with the public schools by making available to them the names of candidates for naturalization. In

addition, approximately two and one-half million letters of invitation to attend citizenship classes were mailed to noncitizens during the summer and fall of 1942. This work was done in coöperation with the National Citizenship Education Program and the WPA. This service can still be provided for regions when the public schools have a full program of instruction for candidates for naturalization.

#### I AM AN AMERICAN DAY

Each year the President in response to a Congressional resolution proclaims the third Sunday in May as "I Am An American Day." On this special day of recognition, observance, and commemoration of American citizenship, both the newly naturalized citizen and the youth attaining the age of 21 are to be recognized. The precise nature of the program is left to each local community. The Immigration and Naturalization Service is coöperating with the communities by providing reports containing suggestions for the development of the ceremony.

#### IN CONCLUSION

By means of the activities just described, the Immigration and Naturalization Service expects to assist the public schools in carrying on their program of citizenship education for the foreign born. At the same time, these activities should give impetus to the broad aspects of adult civic education.

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## ADULT CIVIC EDUCATION—A STATE PROGRAM

MARY L. GUYTON

It was in 1916 just prior to the last war that the first training course in New England for teachers of immigrants was conducted at the Lowell Normal School under the auspices of the Massachusetts State Department of Education, Division of University Extension. It was the first official contact of the Department with school programs of Americanization. During 1917 and 1918 the public became deeply conscious of the alien problem, and of the dangers that might evolve from having so large a segment of our population unable to speak the English language, and not participating in the responsibilities of citizenship. The problem was so great that in 1919 the Massachusetts Legislature enacted a State-aid law which granted authority to the State Department of Education to cooperate with any town or city which might apply in offering instruction for adults unable to speak, read, or write English, such classes to be jointly approved by the local school committee and the Department. Teachers and supervisors were to be chosen and their compensation fixed by the school committee but their appointment was to be subject to the approval of the Department. It was also stated that at the expiration of each year, and on approval of the Department, the Commonwealth should pay to every town providing instruction one half the amount expended for supervision and instruction.

In 1938 an amendment was added to the bill which provided that upon application for enrollment of twenty or more residents in a community the school committee should be required to establish classes of instruction and to maintain them for not less than forty sessions, except where attendance should fall below fifteen.

With the stimulus given by the enactment of this law, Massachusetts early took the lead in the education of the foreign born. It was the first State in the Union to work out a successful coopera-

tive program of factory classes for employees immediately after the last war.

The need for special lesson materials and courses of study was recognized early in the work, and committees of experienced teachers and supervisors have been engaged since 1920 in preparing materials to meet new needs as they arise. The classes are grouped into four types: Beginners, Intermediate, Citizenship, and Advanced, and the work is set up as a four-year program.

In 1933 basic English was considered as a help to streamline the teaching of English in adult classes in Massachusetts. Accordingly, with Miss Anna L. Kelley, Supervisor of Adult Civic Education in Peabody, the author went to London to study at the Orthological Institute with Mr. C. K. Ogden and his associates. We came back to Massachusetts and organized sixteen experimental classes throughout the State. Teaching materials were adapted from the existing basic English texts, and in 1935 we published *A Basic English Course for Adults*. The results of these early experiences were most encouraging, but we were in general agreement that the materials were too difficult for many classes, and they did not develop oral skills of the sort the people needed.

In the fall of 1938, soon after the Payne Fund had made possible beginnings of an Orthological Institute in New York, the teachers in Massachusetts and in Washington, D. C., and the Orthological Committee of the Payne Fund began working together on a sort of blueprint of a book for first-year adult students. The result of this collaboration was the publication in 1942 of *Learning the English Language* (A Book for Men and Women of All Countries), published by the Houghton Mifflin Company of Boston, which it is expected will give to the student an orderly and simple introduction of forms of English expression needed as he goes about his daily business.

Other standard textbooks used by Massachusetts classes are the *Introductory and Intermediate Sets of Lessons* and *Simple Supple-*

*mentary Lessons on Banking and Health*. For the more advanced student preparing himself for citizenship there are *The Reading Lessons for Citizenship Training Based on the Basic Principles of Government* and *Questions for Student's Notebook on the Basic Principles of Government*. Teachers manuals are provided for all grades.

In formulating plans for the more advanced groups all sorts of opportunities present themselves to the imaginative teacher. Many groups in Massachusetts have formed student councils where activities are discussed and planned. In wartime the student council is of particular importance. It can assume under the direction of the teacher, responsibility for the sponsoring of the sale of war bonds and stamps and assume leadership in the enrollment of students in classes organized for Red Cross, nutrition, etc.

Much of the success of advanced activities, in fact the success of the program itself, depends upon the selection of teachers. They should have a natural interest in the problem, the disposition to work cheerfully and sympathetically with the foreign born. They should have imagination, and, most important, special training through adult civic education courses. In Massachusetts this is a requisite to approval by the State Department of Education.

Experience has shown that most effective help can be rendered to any adult civic education program by the establishment of an advisory council made up of representatives of civic and patriotic groups. This group can be of tremendous assistance in strengthening the understanding between the native and foreign born in promoting "I Am An American Day" celebrations, etc. One of the best examples of the effectiveness of this type of coöperation was the annual fall conference of Supervisors and Teachers of Adult Civic Education held in Boston in the fall of 1942. Sponsored by more than thirty-five civic groups a great assembly was held in the ballroom of the Hotel Statler. Five hundred people were turned away at the door through lack of space. An especially trained



chorus of one hundred noncitizens sang, and the principal speaker was the Honorable Frank C Walker, Postmaster General of the United States. The meeting did much to create good will, and to bring the work of Adult Civic Education to the attention of the general public.

The war has brought changes to all of us, and these changes have brought added problems and added responsibilities. Formerly emphasis was laid upon the evening school and home classes for noncitizens but with the coming of the war we have moved into the factory itself, and hold classes between shifts in a spinning room, recreation center, or whatever convenient place can be found.

We have discovered that the opportunity of attending school has added meaning to the noncitizen in wartime. To some it is their only outside contact. It gives them a feeling of belonging, and gives them an opportunity of demonstrating their love and loyalty to America. A recent survey showed that in 77 out of 111 communities in Massachusetts holding adult civic education classes, 5,274 children of students are in Uncle Sam's armed services; 1,811 students are contributing to some wartime service such as civilian defense, Red Cross, warden service, etc.; 1,053 are waiting for their citizenship papers in order to be employed in wartime industrial plants; 5,568 students have taken steps for second papers, and are likely to become citizens this year; and 5,274 have taken out first papers and are in the process of becoming citizens.

Our one desire in this time of war is to make our program adjustable to wartime situations, but we have not forgotten that we must look forward to the time that peace comes and the many problems that will come with it. I am convinced that some larger effort must be found to meet the great problem of the refugee after the war. We look forward, however, to the future with confidence. Adult civic education has done a good job in the past. It will do a better job in the future. We believe that through it we are strengthening our democracy, and promoting a wider understanding of

the world which can lie beyond the range of the present war. That world of tomorrow can be a reality if all of our people are united in a faith that it can be achieved. We must reach a common ground—a common purpose—a common hope through education. The responsibility laid upon teachers of the foreign born is great. They are helping to make citizens of tomorrow, and therefore in a degree are the molders of America's destiny. Let us raise our sights high toward the future—toward a better life when all of our people, whether native or foreign born, shall be joined together in a common bond of neighborliness, friendship, and understanding

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## AN ADULT STUDENT ASSOCIATION

MAUDE E. AITON

During World War I the people of the United States were startled to find that millions of men and women living in our country could not speak English and millions more were not citizens. Even more appalling to certain groups of our citizens was the fact that great communities within our borders were "foreign." In these communities aliens spoke their own language, carried on the customs and life of the homeland, and to them the United States was remote.

With the knowledge of the composition of our population came a hysteria of reform. We should Americanize all foreigners. Patriotic organizations aided in this work, and hence there quickly grew up throughout the country Americanization classes.

The organization of a full-time, day, night, winter, and summer Americanization school in the public schools of the District of Columbia was effected in 1919. Teachers and principal alike were entering a field of work in which few if any decisions of methods, procedures, or policies had been reached. The teachers were, as a rule, not trained for adult work. They were eager to help the students and undoubtedly often did too much for them. They gave of their time and strength but felt impelled to direct in great detail. Clubs were organized, but they were wholly teacher directed and soon dropped away. In fact, as viewed from this distance in time it seems that the staff were afraid to trust the group or felt that the students were children in experience and could follow but could not lead.

After three years, in 1922, a group of ten well-educated young men and women from as many different countries met many times to discuss among themselves the values and the faults of this public adult-education venture. It is indeed interesting to note that more than twenty years ago this group criticized intelligently the place

of the instructor in the educational and social program proposed, and banded themselves together "in order to establish closer personal relations, become better acquainted with the people and customs of the United States, and to give mutual assistance in the promotion of patriotic, intellectual, and recreational pursuits." They appealed to the late Walter I. McCoy, former Chief Justice of the District Supreme Court (now the United States District Court for the District of Columbia) to act as their consultant in forming an organization. Finally the committee came to the principal of the school and presented their program. *They asked if they might not work with the instructors and not be treated as children by them.* They said their purposes were our purposes; these were: more rapid assimilation, more and deeper understanding of the society of which they were becoming a part, of its problems, of its hopes, of its strengths, of its weaknesses; how *they* the newcomers could enter into and become a part of this land of their dreams. The land of Washington's ideals, the land of Lincoln's ideals was to them an ever present goal toward which they were groping and which was calling them as it called our forefathers. This committee became the Americanization School Association.

This experiment of the Americanization School Association of the District of Columbia is pertinent not only to adult educational workers but also to those interested in the adjustment of groups of peoples within our population. From this beginning a certain criterion was set in the minds of those who recommended instructors for the Americanization School. Only men and women should be chosen to serve on the staff who saw life as ever growing, ever moving forward in widening circles—who could catch the meanings of simple, crudely stated suggestions of the student, as well as the rich, well-expressed suggestions of the highly developed scholar. Not only those who were idealists, but also those who could be most practical were the persons selected to serve as teachers. In addition, the prospective teachers were carefully checked to see if they

were tolerant; if they knew racial background; if they had studied language methods, and understood principles of democratic government. All kinds and types of teachers and students have worked together to make certain achievements possible. Each year there are "in service classes" to aid the staff to further prepare themselves to meet and aid the newcomers.

S. H. Hanessian's history of the Americanization School Association recently published in the Americanization School Association's *Bulletin*, July 1943, gives to readers some insight into the conscious sociological purpose of the Association. Mr. Hanessian was the leader of the original group and worked with Justice McCoy. He holds that every activity within the Association must be based on principles leading to the real goal—assimilation and understanding citizenship.

To attempt to reach this goal was the task the Americanization School Association set for itself. Motivation was to come from within the group. Self-education, self-development were basic. The individual wanted it and *recognized the need*.

The form of government of the Association was to allow for many small units of activity where responsibility could be divided and many individuals have an opportunity to follow their own interests.

As a matter of fact, each class is organized and has its own officers. Each unit suggests projects for classwork and individual work. At all times the Americanization School Association carries on a master project about which many of the teaching situations of the school center. For example, "Tributes from Many Lands," the bi-centennial number of the Americanization School Association's *Bulletin*, was published by the Americanization School Association in 1932. This gave opportunity to the students from fifty different countries to give homage to George Washington. The project lasted considerably over a year. Many students went to the Congressional Library, where books were reviewed and significant sections were

translated as they sought the most interesting statements made about George Washington in their own language many years ago. The oldest writing found was a newspaper from Russia written before the time of the Constitution giving an estimate of Washington's character.

Thus, in this single project, ability for research work by many nationality students, writing ability, art ability (through illustrations), language ability were given conditionings that made adults eager to work and push forward the central project for the year.

The outline of basic work of the Association also checks on many situations that make for difficulty in adjustments and consequent lack of assimilation among newcomers. Some of these are misinformation which frequently appears in the foreign press and lack of comprehension of the basic principles underlying a democratic form of government.

There are few educational or social activities in many communities that develop real interest in government and afford democratic participation.

There are many and difficult schisms which utterly divide families of newcomers, because the child quickly adopts American ways and thrusts aside the old ways, some of which might be a contribution to American culture.

Motivation for naturalization is frequently on a low level. Despite the effort to overcome it, there still exists exploitation of the foreign born

Deep racial prejudices exist between various nationalities and between groups within nationalities, making for antisocial conditions. Also, deep prejudices between Americans and newcomers make adjustments difficult. Frequent discrimination against the foreigner, both socially and economically, make for bitterness.

Fear because of insecurity is forever in the mind of the individual, making him a prey to many unscrupulous groups.

The slow acceptance of the status of women in America is another problem among certain groups.

As the writer sees it, these are some of the problems which the Association sensed and has valiantly endeavored to solve.

One of the activities which the organization has sponsored and which has aided in the solution of many problems is citizenship receptions, informal and friendly. The intimacy of the small meeting makes self-expression easier, cements friendships, and arouses enthusiasm for further participation. At times, these receptions are more formal and the program given is really for the benefit of the American public.

The *Americanization Bulletin*, a publication of the Association, has always been a great incentive to the individual in which he might express his thoughts. It has also served as an exchange of information. The other weekly publication gives a calendar of many activities.

Special aid is a phase of the work planned to give assistance to members in time of illness or economic difficulties. During the depression years, this type of activity greatly expanded. The Association also coöperated with other social agencies.

The value of socialized projects is most easily recognized in activities where participation is general and spontaneous. Nowhere are the contributions from all nations so readily recognized as in the bazaars, festivals, dances, and informal gatherings in the recreational program. These not only invite friendliness, but they are purposeful in that they bring Americans and newcomers together to promote worthwhile objectives; for example, this year they gave a service car to the Red Cross.

After naturalization, the new citizens become members of the Citizenship Section of the Association. This branch club holds monthly meetings in the A. S. A. Library and has become the backbone of all enterprises requiring aggressive, vigorous promotion. Its members are given a larger outlook upon life through continued participation in the work of the Association.

The A. S. A. Library is the center of activities, a reading room, committee room, assembly room, classroom, office, given by the

Board of Education for this use and furnished with books and periodicals given by the Association and friends. This room is the home of the Association. It is dedicated to all the better objectives of a home—restfulness, happy activities, help in individual need, encouragement for individual gifts, sympathy.

A definite program of child welfare has been planned which concerns itself not only with the physical welfare of the child, but with parent-child relationships which offer serious problems in the families of newcomers where the child has opportunities for quicker assimilation than the parent. This program aims to seize the opportunity offered for the acceleration of assimilation by the presence of children of many nationalities. Small children are free from race prejudice. Their attitudes will influence the attitudes of their parents. Participation of children of many nationalities in A. S. A. projects fosters appreciation of one for the other.

The program also tries to cultivate in the child a sense of the importance of participation in community affairs, and a growing consciousness of responsibility as a member of the community and a citizen of this country. Through the education of the parent, the program is planned to free the child from many disadvantages of being in an alien home. Since the child learns the language more quickly than his elders, he becomes the interpreter and go-between in all sorts of situations into which childhood should not be drawn (e.g., the child goes to a relief office with the parent to ask for assistance). This sets up a bad relationship between parent and child. The child loses respect for parent, ignores him, is unhappy, and makes the parents unhappy.

At a memorial meeting in the fall of 1933, in which about twenty civic organizations of Washington joined, the McCoy Scholarship Fund was promulgated. This scholarship fund was planned in honor of the late Judge Walter I. McCoy and his wife, Kate Philbrick McCoy, in whose home the Association was organized and who during their lifetime were its constant advisers and sponsors.



Income from the fund is to be used as a scholarship award to student or teacher in the Americanization School for advanced study in civics and government. Small contributions have been made to the fund. On account of present war conditions, it has not been greatly urged; but it is hoped it may grow to material value in later years.

The sponsoring and publicizing of basic English by the Association has resulted in the recognition of this system of teaching English by the Americanization School of the public schools of the District of Columbia and in further enlistment of the interest of the Orthological Committee at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

There is a Latin American project, the aim of which is to offer to Latin Americans in residence here or on a visit to this country sympathetic and intelligent educational opportunities and thus facilitate their cultural and social adjustments. The Pan American Union has shown its interest in this project.

Success in efforts to secure means for carrying it out came with the grant of funds by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in the fall of 1942. These funds have been expanded for 1943-1944.

The Americanization School Association through its years of unabating interest and work has upheld the Americanization Work of the public schools of the District of Columbia. Committees from this group appear at hearings for appropriations, call together civic organizations, and cooperate with all patriotic groups in civic enterprises.

Here is the real value of a self-motivated program—these men and women whose purposes have been demonstrated are working for their own America. They are living the principle that democracy means cooperation, that high standards of citizenship in each individual will eventually lift the whole citizenry.

In the war effort, they have responded liberally by buying bonds. The everyday work of the Association is demonstrated by blood donors, Red Cross workers, and students studying the meaning of

inflation and the many ways in which the family may function during the war to be of real service.

The work of the public-school system of the District of Columbia has been stabilized and expanded through the efforts of the students themselves; and as we look back now through a quarter of a century, we feel that this has been possible because the adult group has been trusted and has accepted the responsibility of carrying on.

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## CITIZENSHIP—AS ACTION

WILLIAM E. MOSHER

Time was when the Fourth of July, Decoration Day, and commencement speakers climaxed their orations by appealing to their audiences in the name of patriotism. But in recent years this term has been increasingly avoided, perhaps because it has come to smack more and more of sentimentality, and to be associated with "100 percentism." In this sophisticated era of ours sentimentality is now taboo as are hundred percenters. Whatever the cause, appeals to patriotism are relatively infrequent while our fellow citizens are now frequently urged to do this or that in the name of citizenship.

If we leave out of account, however, the use of citizenship in connection with naturalization proceedings, the connotations of the terms patriotism and citizenship are, in the minds of most people, equally vague and noncompelling. In an essay contest in which a number of high-school students competed some years ago, appeared the following definition of patriotism: "Patriotism is an indefinite something that we are supposed to feel, particularly in time of war." This might be paraphrased to read: "Citizenship is an indefinite something that we are supposed to feel, particularly in time of peace." Both are *supposed* to give rise to indefinite feelings. Neither bids one to rise in his might and to do something about the body politic, the social order or the local community.

What is needed is a thoroughgoing redefinition of these terms or the coinage of a new term which will prompt to action. According to Zimmern, an authority on Greek civilization, the germ of Greek citizenship was "elemental unselfishness, the sense of one human being's natural relationship to another." It expressed itself in action in the common interest. It meant participation, not a silent partnership, in community and public affairs. Eternal vigilance is said to be the price of liberty. But if democratic liberty is to be preserved,

vigilance is not enough. A vigilant "spotter" of airplanes on a hill-top is not content with observing and recording the approach of enemy planes. He sounds the alarm. People snap out their lights, gather in shelters, and defense planes take to the air. Self-government is but a play on words if it is interpreted as mere vigilance, if it denotes a passive, an inactive role on the part of those living within a self-governing state.

Ordinarily the naturalization process does not involve an action program. It is based almost exclusively on the acquisition of English and information concerning our country's past, its constitution and historical figures. The taking of the oath of citizenship is a formality and the celebration of "I Am an American Day" is largely a ceremony. These experiences offer but little guidance to the question: "Now that we are American citizens what are we going to do about America?"

As any one who has had contact with naturalized aliens well knows, they represent a potential reservoir of power for good. Most of them are eager to show their appreciation of having been granted all the rights and privileges of citizenship by doing something for the common good, by becoming partners in the American experiment. But their training and background of experience fail to give them any useful hints. Apart from their own language groups many, if not most, are still in a foreign land. Generally the community has no organized program for utilizing their enthusiasm and sense of appreciation whereby they might share in the community partnership. As I view it, the naturalization training program should not alone give practical illustrations of how foreign-born citizens have entered into this partnership, but also should get projects under way in which these new citizens may have a share with native citizens in promoting worthwhile community projects. A partnership that does not result in the experience of sharing responsibility is but a make-believe affair—a word without substance.

Under the pressure of common danger, that is the present war, a participating partnership has been established particularly in connection with the local agencies organized under the Office of Civilian Defense and latterly the State War Council. Under the local war council, for example, block wardens have been appointed throughout an urban area. They inevitably represent all elements in the community. They have met together for instruction purposes; they have well-defined functions involving a good deal of coöperation; they all wear the same insignia. The women volunteers coöperating with the war council also represent a cross section of the community engaged in various community-wide projects. Such practical partnerships must have been worked most beneficially in the direction of bringing about a real assimilation of naturalized citizens and of promoting a community spirit in keeping with democratic principles both for native and foreign-born citizens.

It is to be deplored that the community interest and spirit which have found expression in these wartime activities have not been and are not systematically mobilized for community purposes in times of peace. There is no reason why such community problems as crime prevention, slum clearance, outdated educational policies, and other defects in our communities could not be dealt with constructively through community action in which both native and foreign-born elements have their share and their responsibility. These proposals may serve as sample methods of making naturalized citizens feel at home and of giving them opportunities for expressing in a more or less tangible way their citizenship and their appreciation of having been taken into American life as full-fledged partners. It is believed that those responsible for the naturalization process would do well to give more attention to ways and means whereby teaching and learning about American citizenship could be supplemented by suitable and effective community action in which native and naturalized citizens are teamed up.

Let us now turn to a special phase of democratic citizenship. It is probably the most essential and at the same time the most neglected; namely, the political aspect.

The schooling of aliens, like that of the American youth in the public schools, is not designed to give them insight into the practicalities and actualities of political citizenship. Whatever else citizenship may mean, it surely means the intelligent and effective use of the ballot. To use it intelligently calls for an understanding of public issues and movements; to use it effectively calls for acquaintance with the machinery and manipulations of political parties, the importance of party committeemen, the role of political leaders and related matters. One cannot have faith in and enthusiasm for self-government if he does not understand how it operates and, in case it does not operate satisfactorily, how the faults can be remedied.

But in addition to understanding, both foreign- and native-born citizens need a heavy dose of stimulation and motivation to assume the yoke of responsibility that is implicit in self-government. However well we may have learned about the rights and privileges we enjoy in our democracy, we surely have failed to appreciate the obligations that fall to the lot of a self-governing citizenry. It is highly probable that in the preparation of aliens for citizenship in its political aspects will be found the same emphasis on rights and privileges in general terms with some description of governmental structure that is characteristic of civic education in typical public schools. They learn little of the practical functioning of the operating departments, their controls, and particularly of the power of the "invisible government," to use Elihu Root's definition of bossism. Our most serious neglect in teaching government is with regard to the key role played by the parties in the selection of candidates for office and no less in determining the behavior of successful candidates when elected to office. It should be a basic axiom of every teacher of citizenship that *the party is the sole agen-*

*cy of effective citizenship*, that indifference to the party is to all practical intents and purposes indifference to government. It is not denied that reform groups of one sort or another have contributed to the improvement of government in various ways. But such groups have had an uphill fight and have scored their successes only by bringing unrelenting pressure to bear on party leaders and the representatives selected by such leaders. The basic cure for the shortcomings, the backwardness, and, even at times, the recalcitrance of representative bodies is a broader and more inclusive participation in party organization and activities on the part of the rank and file of the citizenry.

Any training for citizenship that fails to stimulate to active and effective participation in community and national affairs is a *pro forma* undertaking. Any democratic citizenship worthy of the name flowers forth in coöperative action looking toward the common welfare—the commonweal. Democratic citizens are actors not bystanders, nor like members of a Greek chorus who cry “Woe, Woe,” when something ill befalls the hero or “Hurrah, Hurrah!” when things take a turn for the better. Instead of futilely bewailing the shortcomings of government—a favorite pastime of not a few Americans—the trained citizen knows that the criticism of self-government is equivalent to self-criticism. He knows further what to do about government and how to go about doing something about it. Citizenship training that does not result in practical and effective political action is misdirected and fails in achieving its primary objective. If we fail to organize a sound training policy looking toward this end the future of democracy in this country is uncertain indeed.

It is perhaps unduly optimistic to hope that the leaders of the foreign born will do a better job of citizen training along political lines than do the teachers of our native-born children. But any sound analysis of the job to be done cannot fail to emphasize this phase of the problem, nor, it is believed, can a sound analysis of

citizenship training fail to emphasize the basic thesis of this article; *i.e.*, that practical democratic citizenship will seek and find its appropriate expression in the doing of things, in actively contributing to the commonweal in coöperation with others. *A partnership in action* in the interest of community and state is the objective and the measure of good citizenship in a democracy.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Gift of Tongues*, by MARGARET SCHLAUCH. New York: Modern Age Books, 1942, viii + 342 pages.

This book introduces the general reader to the science of linguistics. If it followed the alliterative line set by *Mathematics for the Million*, it might be called *Philology for Philistines*.

Its special contribution is to present in more succinct form than is available elsewhere and in a lively and very readable style a scholarly view of the major divisions of modern linguistics. While the author's interests are not limited to technical linguistics and one of the most interesting chapters in the book deals with the sociological aspects of language, her attitude is in general that of the orthodox linguist. She condescends to semantics but is fascinated by comparative phonetics. Her scholarship is broad and sound, and the book is an excellent popular introduction to philology.

*Language in Action*, by S. I. HAYAKAWA. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1941, x + 245 pages.

In *Science and Sanity*, a book which is hard reading even for specialists, Alfred Korzybski, propounds a "non-Aristotelian system" of linguistic interpretation called General Semantics. In *Language in Action* Professor S. I. Hayakawa, a student though not a blind disciple of Korzybski, has written a colorful and highly readable book which for the first time makes the special emphases of General Semantics available to the general reader.

Assuming the profound importance of language as a psycho-physiological determinant of the intellectual and moral and hence social behavior of men, Hayakawa presents principles of interpretation, or semantic principles, "which are intended to act as a kind of intellectual air-purifying and air-conditioning system" for our verbal environment. He does this simply and clearly, with much ingenious illustration, and avoids the pitfalls of popularization into which Stuart Chase fell in *The Tyranny of Words*. Hayakawa's book is the best introduction yet written to the new borderline science called semantics.

*About Ourselves*, by J. G. NEEDHAM. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Jacques Cattell Press, 1941, xi + 276 pages.

This survey of human nature from the zoological point of view is divided into two parts, each composed of ten chapters. Part I deals with: our place in the living world, the primates, man's remote ancestry, the development of the nervous system, the development of the brain, the development of behavior, instinct, learning, infancy, and nature and nurture in the human species. Part II considers the following topics: population, social nurture, the components of social behavior, the role of instinct in human affairs, the chief products of the folkways, war in its biological aspects, war (continued), government in its biological aspects, government (continued), and religion in its biological aspects. The author says: "I present herewith a very condensed statement of some of the contributions of zoology to the knowledge of the nature of our species, together with some suggestions as to the relation of these matters to the organization and operations of society. The limitations of space have demanded that the facts be stated broadly, and without much heed to exceptions."

*People Are Important*, by FLOYD RUCH, GORDON N. MACKENZIE, and MARGARET McCLEAN. New York: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1941, 283 pages.

As secondary schools have turned from a complete preoccupation with college preparation to an analysis of their job of general education, there has been a growing concern for the area of personal problems of students. Many schools use the homeroom organization and time for this consideration, others have informal machinery for guidance, while others have established courses in personal problems, or make those problems the main center of attention in core curriculum classes. However the problem is attacked there has been a growing demand for suitable and adequate printed materials. Even though we have gotten away from the notion that if it is to be learned it must be in a book, we still feel a need for books as focal type of material.

This text, designed for the high school, has been developed by a strong combination: a college psychologist, a school administrator who knows the score in education, and a high-school teacher. It is not the first in the field, and, in all likelihood, not the last, nor the best, but it is one which the authors of its successors ought to study carefully.

*We Need Vitamins*, by WALTER H. EDDY and G. G. HAWLEY. New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1941, 102 pages.

A sort of pocket encyclopedia of the vitamins is this excellent book of Eddy and Hawley. Its appeal should be to a wide group including teachers, housewives, physical educators, dietitians, and the general layman. It covers the field of the vitamins in a thoroughly comprehensible manner and while there is a fair amount of technical terminology the development always keeps the needs of the average layman in mind. Many are its virtues and among these is the fact that this volume answers definitely and concisely many things that have been mulled over in the minds of a public, now much alert to the scientific needs of an adequate diet.

The volume is thoroughly documented and the field covered in a manner which is both practical and academic without resorting to tedium. It is truly a volume which should be in every home, especially in these days of wartime efficiency and economy.

*How to Teach Children Music*, by ETHELYN LENORE STINSON. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941, 140 pages

This book presents a record of achievement attained in the teaching of music to special children—children who require a particular technique of procedure adapted to their needs. The development of instruction in music from simple auditory and visual responses to understanding and individual expression is presented in detail. Numerous case records are included which show how this instruction has served to correct behavior problems and draw out children according to their ability. The book contains, also, a list of material and suggestions for its use. Miss Stinson's modification of current procedures should prove helpful to others interested in this field.

*The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, by ROBERT REDFIELD. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941, 416 pages.

This social anthropological study of modern Yucatan, the peninsula in Southeastern Mexico which contains several of the States of the Mexican Republic and which was anciently the seat of the Maya civilization, is a valuable contribution to the study of culture and culture change and will interest greatly students of that subject.

From Merida, Yucatan's largest city, to Tusik, a tribal village in the deep forest, it is approximately one hundred and fifty miles—and several centuries. Dean Redfield's book records this journey both culturally and physically. Essentially, his detailed examination of the contrast between urban Spanish civilization and primitive Maya life and the fusion of these two is a study of that contrast between primitive and city life which underlies the history of all civilization.

The completeness of the notes, bibliography, glossary, and index makes a satisfactory ending to the thorough scholarliness of his research.

*Sex in Development*, by CARNEY LANDIS and co-authors; foreword by NOLAN D. C. LEWIS. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940, 329 pages.

In this unique volume the selection of co-authors was a most vital factor for they have been carefully selected from varied fields. The authors are persons whose practical experience, backed by sound psychological and educational backgrounds, renders them extremely suitable authorities in their various fields. Also, the book has as one of its most potent assets a happy avoidance of fads and bizarre procedures sometimes encountered in such fields. The volume covers a wide field of investigation ranging from early childhood through maturity. It begins with a positive approach dealing with the normal. At the one hundred thirtieth page it begins a consideration of abnormal cases or cases of maladjustment and, to illustrate, uses carefully selected cases freely and judiciously.

It is with pleasure that this reviewer states that the style is admirable and while scientific is not too technical. Also, the practical application of the theories set forth renders it a valuable asset for both layman and teacher. The two chapters dealing with sex instruction and personality structure and function render the purchase a thoroughly worth while investment. There is a nod to Freud but the techniques are radically at variance with this psychiatrist. The correlation of different aspects of this field easily renders the book an approach which is of unusual interest and treatment. The volume deserves unqualified endorsement especially as an aid to the comprehension of social workers and those in related fields.

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## EDITORIAL

During the years 1935-1941 the newly formed Division of Elementary Schools at the request of the New York Principals' Association conducted the largest and best organized curriculum experiment in the United States under the title of the activity program. The experiment included seventy elementary schools with about 75,000 children and nearly 2,500 teachers. This represented a ten per cent sampling of the elementary schools of the city and included a population as great as the total elementary-school enrollment of cities like San Francisco, Boston, St. Louis, Buffalo, or Pittsburgh. Under the guidance of an Advisory Committee of educational experts of local and national reputation a program of evaluation using over a quarter of a million tests and thousands of coded daily observations by trained observers was carried on systematically for six years in a refined sampling of 12 1/2 per cent of these experimental schools and an equal number of comparable control schools of the more traditional type.

The experiment is over. In 1940-1941 on the invitation of the superintendent of schools, the New York State Department of Education with the approval of the Board of Regents and the financial support of the legislature conducted an extensive survey of the activity program and recommended its gradual adoption in all the schools. On November 5, 1941, the Board of Superintendents offi-

cially accepted the recommendations of the Survey Committee and adopted the new program for all schools under the title, The Program of Elementary Education.

The new program of elementary education is now in operation in every elementary school. Teachers are informed that "An obligation to rethink and reorganize classroom and school practices in harmony with principles of modern education as expressed in this bulletin rests on every teacher and every supervisor." More than three out of every four teachers have been reported as having made good progress in reorganizing their classroom procedures in harmony with the program. The Activity Program is now only a name.

The authors of the articles in this issue have written in simple nontechnical language trying to convey the spirit of the program, the enthusiasm of the teacher, and the purposeful participation of the pupils. They present the program as it operates day by day not in the highly privileged private progressive schools but in ordinary typical classes in the schools of a great city with an average class register of about 34 pupils and typical teachers working under typical conditions and limitations.

JOHN J. LOFTUS

# THE ACTIVITY PROGRAM IN NEW YORK ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

JOHN J. LOFTUS

## THE ORIGIN OF THE ACTIVITY PROGRAM

"What may be done better to adapt our elementary schools to the varying needs and abilities of the children?" In appointing Associate Superintendent Stephen F. Bayne Chairman of the Committee of Seven on the Individualization of Instruction for the elementary schools of the City of New York, Dr. Harold G. Campbell, the late Superintendent of Schools, raised this critical question for study and recommendations. The inquiry of Dr. Bayne's committee revealed the pressing need for a major curriculum revision that would transfer the current emphasis from the mastery of printed courses of study by children to the "best personal and social development of each individual child." The following paragraphs from Superintendent Campbell's letter of instruction to Dr. Bayne laid the basis for the new official program of elementary education now functioning in all the public elementary schools of the city.

I believe that one of the reasons for our excessive retardation and number of failures is the fact that we have been trying to teach subjects rather than children. Our task as I see it is to find the interests and capabilities of each child and to develop these to the fullest extent possible. . . .

To eliminate failures we must measure achievement by ability to achieve and not by worn out notions of what constitutes an elementary course of study. . . .

Every child has some interest, some ability, great or little, latent or apparent. It is for us to find these interests and abilities and to formulate our courses of study upon them. . . .

I give you carte blanche to go into the entire matter. Your study may lead to the necessity for a restatement of the objectives of elementary education. If so, how shall we realize these objectives? I want no child to be a failure by reason of any shortcoming of our courses of study or of the school system. . . .

In your work may I suggest that you endeavor to capitalize the best thinking of the teaching and supervisory staff in every level of the service.

#### THE CURRICULUM EXPERIMENT

In 1935 the Department of Education was organized on a functional basis and Dr. Stephen F. Bayne was placed in charge of all the elementary schools of the city. His first professional task was to set up a workable program of elementary education worthy of the country's largest city-school system. Following instructions of Superintendent Campbell he invited the three existing professional organizations of principals of elementary schools with their teachers to propose a tentative program. They made a study of best current practices in elementary education in the United States and submitted definite proposals. Realizing, however, that New York teachers had not been trained for such a program, that school buildings were poorly equipped for it, and that official courses of study and current teaching practice militated against it, they asked to have the program tried out experimentally over a period of not less than six years in "at least one school in every assistant superintendent's supervisory territory in order to meet the peculiar needs of each type of school community and school organization." Seventy schools volunteered and were approved by their local superintendents who thereby incurred obligation for local supervision under the direction of the Division of Elementary Schools and under the guidance of an advisory committee of educational experts of local and national reputation who represented the conservative as well as the progressive point of view.

#### THE ACTIVITY PROGRAM DEFINED

Toward the close of the experiment, the State Department of Education accepted an invitation to survey the local experiment and advise the Superintendent of Schools as to whether the objectives of elementary education were better realized under the activity program than the type of program then in general use. Dr. J. Cayce



Morrison, Assistant Commissioner in charge of Research, was put in charge of the survey. Three consultants and a staff of experienced surveyors were selected. The consultants were Dr. George Stoddard, now State Commissioner of Education, Dr. Ralph Tyler, Dean of the Graduate School, University of Chicago, and leading figure in the Survey of Thirty Progressive Secondary Schools for the Progressive Education Association, and Dr. Paul Rankin, head of the Michigan State Curriculum Commission. The description of the activity program in the Survey Report is probably the best exposition of the program:

As conceived in the New York City Experiment, the development of an activity program was primarily an effort to shift the emphasis of teaching in the elementary school from subject matter to the child. It was an attempt to make the child an active participant rather than a passive recipient in the educational process.

The activity program placed special emphasis upon the development in children of self control, critical thinking, creative expression, and desirable social relationships. These were to be attained in part through children's participation in planning their own work, learning by actual experience, and helping to keep records and to evaluate work done. It emphasized adapting materials and methods to the needs and abilities of the individual pupils; the wider use in the school program of opportunities for creative work in art, music, dramatics, and construction; the cultivation of elementary research skills; and the creation of school and classroom atmosphere conducive to democratic living, and of friendly active, cooperative relations between school, home, and community.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PROGRAM

The following points characterize the program in the New York elementary schools today:

1. Transfer of emphasis in teaching from mastery of formal courses of study to the best personal and social development of each individual child
2. Discovery, development, and utilization of the interests, aptitudes, and talents of each individual

3. Habituation in a democratic way of daily living in the classroom
4. Diagnosis and remedial treatment of individual shortcomings in essential skills, habits, and appreciations
5. Developing of critical thinking about people, problems, and self-evaluation in terms of current achievement and growth
6. Active participation of pupils in the planning and conduct of class and school activities
7. Learning wherever practical on the basis of challenging first-hand experiences rather than through repetitive drill
8. Concern about current events and community activities
9. Increasing opportunities and incentives for parents to participate in the new program
10. Increasing utilization of the educational resources of the home and the community
11. Training pupils in efficient habits of work, study, and play
12. Through simple forms of self-government encouraging children to assume responsibilities and to choose and follow good leaders

#### THE CARDINAL OBJECTIVES OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

These characteristics are in harmony with the six cardinal objectives of elementary education proposed by the New York State Council of Superintendents and approved by the State Department of Education.

That they also be in line with the American way for training pupils in the democratic way of living is one of the larger objectives of the new program. Curriculum Bulletin No. 1 defines this way as follows:

1. Each child has personal and group responsibilities which he meets by himself without having to wait for commands or having to ask for permission. The job needs to be done and he is the one to do it. The daily tasks may be printed on a bulletin board and a child's name posted after each. Monitors shouldn't need to receive orders.

2. Children are free at proper times to talk things over and plan and discuss amongst themselves. For some part of the day at least their business should be with other children rather than solely with the teacher.

3. Children are free to share more and more in making necessary rules and regulations for their groups or their class and in higher grades for the whole school. Pupils do not assume sole responsibility.

4. Children have a share and a responsibility in selecting chairmen, monitors, and other leaders, and are responsible for holding these leaders to faithful and efficient performance of duties.

5. Children have the opportunity to do the kind of work they can do best and to enjoy the kind of experience they like best as long as they do not interfere with others. The work they have to do for the groups should challenge their best efforts and abilities. Their interests, hobbies, and other enjoyments should be so encouraged and guided as to cultivate their tastes and develop their creative aptitudes. Situations in which everybody in the class is doing the same thing at the same time should be more and more infrequent.

#### THE TASK AHEAD

Now the big task immediately ahead of the Division of Elementary Schools is the implementation of the recommendations of the State Survey. Considerable progress has been made on each of the recommendations. During 1943-1944 teachers and supervisors will assemble measurable evidences of progress as the program develops. *The recommendations of the Survey as stated in Curriculum Bulletin No. 1, 1942-1943, are as follows:*

1. Develop more self-discipline, self-confidence, and poise; ability to form, express, and defend one's own opinions, and to work with others; willingness to assume responsibilities.

2. Develop civic attitudes and understanding of socio-economic questions within the range of child's experience and comprehension.

3. Develop the habit of critical consideration of problems, people, and events, and clear thinking about them

4. Discover and cultivate the creative talents of children as expressed in fine and practical arts, in writing, music, dancing, dramatics, and other forms of aesthetic expression

5. Reorganize the procedures of the class and the school to give each child continuous experience in the processes of democratic living.

6. Modify the school's total relation to the child and the organization of the child's entire school day.

7. Cultivate sympathetic and helpful relationships between parents and teachers in guiding the child's educational growth. Utilize the home and the community as significant educational resources.

8. Differentiate between essential and nonessential record keeping. Records should help the teacher and the school to understand and guide the child. Teachers and supervisors should gradually accumulate significant evidences of pupil growth and the realization of objectives.

9. Develop in each school and in each district a program of in-service training of teachers in the concepts and newer practices of elementary education.

10. Incorporate in new syllabuses and bulletins such content and method as will enable teachers and supervisors more easily and more effectively to realize the objectives of modern elementary education.

#### INFORMAL PROCEDURES

Perhaps the most characteristic activity in the traditional school is the recitation with its time-honored emphasis on reproduction, repetitive drill, busy work, and uniformity. In the new program recitations are much less frequent. The five formal steps of the recitation tend to be displaced by the following informal procedures:

1. *Conference and discussion.* Holding frequent class or small group conferences providing real discussion by children with other children

2. *Trips and other exploratory activities.* Providing experiences within or outside the class or the school

3. *Research activities.* Raising problems and placing responsibility on children to seek solutions in their textbooks and wherever else answers can be found

4. *Dramatic experiences.* Making believe, playing store or travel bureau, writing and acting plays or performances, reproducing plays found in books, giving puppet and marionette shows

5. *Construction activities.* Reproducing in miniature the significant features of whatever is being studied

6. *Pictorial and graphic representation and interpretation.* Illustrating the significance of construction or dramatic activities by settings, scenery,

maps, charts, scrap books, logs, or other written, visual, or graphic records

7. *Culminating activities.* Organizing exhibits or assembly programs or demonstrations for other classes or for parents

8. *Evaluation activities.* Preparing summaries, outlines, reviews, reports, tests, and listing most important things to remember

These activities are not isolated. Any one may be directly related to any others. For example, there needs to be research to assure authenticity in dramatic activities or in construction activities. Trips are one form of research. Every procedure needs conferences before, during, and after its initiation. In all of the procedures the children should have as large a responsibility as possible.

#### EVIDENCES OF PROGRESS

In introducing a program of this kind in some 13,000 classes it was necessary to proceed cautiously, beginning with the larger and more overt phases and gradually refining procedures. "The spirit of the program is more important than any of its details." Teachers need freedom to work in their own way, to choose their own subject matter, to plan together in terms of the local school and class conditions, to start where and how they can best affect the transition. It is as important to respect individual differences in teachers as it is in children.

Three interim reports have been made by the principals of the elementary schools corroborated and approved by the local assistant superintendents. The first report in June 1942 was on how successfully teachers had made a *good start*. This was interpreted to mean:

1. The teacher has deliberately changed her pattern of work.
2. The children are conscious of a new pattern of classroom living and working together.

The second report in January 1943 was a *Report of Progress* based on satisfactory evidences that:

1. The classroom atmosphere and appearance were attractive to children and significant of their interests.

2. Children were sharing more and more in planning their activities.
3. Children were getting wholesome experience in working together in small groups with competent leaders.
4. Children were getting experience in research activities; e.g., raising their own questions, seeking answers wherever answers could be found, and organizing their resources.
5. Children were free to leave their seats in the performance of their duties so long as they did not interfere with others.

*A Report of Further Progress* in June 1943 was based on the following ten items: firsthand experiences and real situations; adapting *all drill* to the special needs of each individual; discovering, developing, and utilizing individual talents; evaluating content; effective and increasing use of class library corner; effective use of reference materials and sources; development of desirable work habits; responsibilities of leaders and members of groups; pupil responsibility for care of materials and room; parent understanding and cooperation.

These items were selected from a check list of 56 items in Curriculum Bulletin No. 1 which add up to an adequate and well-balanced definition of modern elementary education and which help to implement the recommendations of the survey. It was prepared by the State Survey Committee after review of the best local and national practice in elementary education as a basis on which to contrast the achievement and expertness of a carefully selected sampling of teachers in ten "activity schools" against a comparable group in ten "regular schools."

On the basis of the survey the evidence showed that the "regular schools" reached only half the median score of the experimental schools and that no teacher in the "regular schools" exceeded the median of the experimental schools. On the basis of the three semi-annual reports made by New York principals to the Division of

Elementary Schools in 1942 and 1943 it may be said that very good progress has been made to date by more than 9 out of 10 kindergarten teachers, about 4 out of every 5 teachers of grades 1A-6B, and more than 1 out of every 2 teachers in grades 7A-8B.

In most schools and in all districts active study groups and teacher-training courses and demonstrations are well attended. Almost every principal and every assistant to principal has taken at least one short unit course of five sessions. The assistant superintendents have conducted a workshop for themselves.

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## CHANGING CURRICULUM PATTERNS IN NEW YORK CITY SCHOOLS

WILLIAM H. BRISTOW

The curriculum in the activity program has come to mean all of the experiences which the pupil has in the realization of the aims of education. A consideration of any area of the curriculum must be predicated upon certain general basic concepts and understandings. This article is concerned with some of these basic issues which are now being considered by various groups. The first of these issues is what do we mean by democratic living. What are its characteristics? How does it contrast with authoritarianism? What service should be rendered to democracy and to the individual by education and the schools? How can education serve "free men"? This leads us naturally to the question of what social and educational philosophy shall direct the curriculum.

The school is the agency of society whose specific responsibility it is to train the young in its culture, standards, and activities. Since in any culture and at any time the school will reflect current ideals and values, so in a democracy the school will assume a characteristic pattern and function. In American society these are determined by the following forces, among others: equality of educational, vocational, and political opportunity, regardless of color, religion, sex, political affiliations, etc.; "the four freedoms," prolongation of schooling, participation in the responsibilities of government, "respect for the dignity and worth of the individual human personality." It becomes the task of the American school to help equip the individual both for efficient and happy personal living and for effective, responsible membership in ever widening communal groups.

A second issue has to do with children. How do they grow, develop, and mature? How do they learn effectively? How do they differ? What promotes and what retards learning? How shall we look at child growth, development, and learning? The most signi-



ficant single contribution to the curriculum in the past two decades has been the studies made and the insights gained in child growth, development, and maturation. We have learned much concerning interests, needs, readiness, concept development, emotional control, personality, and effective learning. As yet, we have been able to apply only a relatively small part of our findings effectively to the school program. We often plunge children, at a very early age, into a consideration of materials far beyond their maturity and comprehension. Recent studies show that children's understanding of certain words comes two or three years after the point where such words appear in spelling lists.

Our tradition of verbalism fails to make use of concrete materials and devices which would enable the child to secure a better understanding of the concepts involved in social-studies courses. With good teaching all of this can be improved. Such teaching requires time, deliberation, discussion, use of many media, and a consideration of general principles from many points of view. On the other hand, we fail to develop with children many things which they might, could, should, and need to master, and which would be of importance to them in their future living and understanding. We refer here to those things which often come under the headings of play, creative activities, dramatics, and human relationships.

In recent years much effort has been devoted to the scientific study of the child. Although not all the results can immediately be translated into educational practice and policy, they offer much to challenge the school. Since we teach the child and not the curriculum, an attempt should be made to understand his nature and development as best we can in the light of the available data, and at least as much as we understand the subject-matter areas. The effect of environmental factors, the role of maturational processes, factors making for adjustment or maladjustment, the child's mental capacities and processes, his basic needs and motives must not only be understood, but provided for by the school. Moreover, the child must be viewed

as a *total* personality, as one who has a home life, a social life, a play life, and a fantasy life, which attend school with him regardless of the conditions or pressures of the classroom.

Although it has long been known that individuals differ among themselves, it is only recently that the study of these differences has been placed on a scientific basis. Investigations of the roles of sex, nationality, race, and age have led to important findings. One of their most important contributions probably is in making clear the enormous effect of environmental factors upon intelligence in particular and upon other phases of personality as well. They have pointed to a necessity for the revision of many of our prejudices and stereotypes along these lines. As far as the school is concerned, they furnish objective evidence of the kind and degree of individual differences among children and the fallacy of conducting an educational program that does not minister to such differences.

The third problem consists of the factors involved in learning. The applications of findings in this field to the classroom situation have not always been made definitely and concretely clear, but they have much to offer to all concerned in the educative process. It is apparent for instance that much of our thinking on such topics as formal discipline, transfer of training, motivation, drill, the relation of efficiency to time of day, and the like, must be reviewed in the light of the knowledge now available. It is essential that education proceed along scientific lines fully as far as the progress of science enables it to do so, and the problems set or resolved by the scientifically devised studies of learning must be applied to the curriculum.

Although many factors contribute toward the efficient functioning of the school, the teacher constitutes the keystone of the whole educational structure. The physical plant, the curriculum, budgetary provisions, and so on, may all fail of their purpose if teachers are not professionally, emotionally, and physically equipped for their work. Teachers need to be carefully selected before training. They should then be trained in all aspects of their crafts, and included

in a program of continuous exposure to the new currents in educational thought. They must moreover be regarded as entitled to the same rights and privileges as well as responsibilities as are allotted to other citizens. Every possible measure should be taken not only to keep teachers abreast of professional developments, but to make them desirous of being informed on matters of political, social, artistic, scientific, and other aspects of cultural growth. Emotional stability is particularly important for teachers to maintain and there is much that can be done on a professional basis to contribute to this.

What steps shall we take to orient teachers to a modern curriculum? No curriculum can be better than the understanding which the teachers have of it. Teachers must be oriented to a different conception of their function in teaching.

Such orientation must come through the ability of the teacher herself to work with various media, to understand the basis for creative learning, to understand and appreciate children's problems and how they grow and develop, and to recognize her role in the important business of teaching. It is the responsibility of education to provide opportunities for teachers to grow and develop, both in the sensitivity required and in the understanding necessary to adjust to a changing educational program.

Our fourth problem is the one of organization and form of the curriculum. What type of organization shall be used in developing the curriculum? The type of organization selected for the curriculum reflects the general philosophy on which it is based. Many ways are available for such organization, such as topical subject matter; correlation of subject fields; broad fields, core or large units; and organized experience.

A procedure that makes use of the large unit seems to offer most, not because of any inherent value of the unit, but because it makes possible the application of certain principles of unity in learning and organization. It also makes it possible for teachers to develop fresh, original, and stimulating approaches for a class or

a school. The exact outline, however, may appropriately vary at different levels of the school system and for different types of school situations.

Although we teach children and not subjects, very definite problems confront us in determining what should be taught and what methods and experiences should constitute the curriculum. With the emphasis on scientific procedures in education, a variety of methods has been developed for determining curriculum content. There has been increasing stress also on the integration of subject matter and the unification of school experiences. With the expansion of the international crisis, more consideration is being given toward education for democratic living. Mastery of texts, once the goal of curriculum procedures, is now considered as a means merely for general, academic, and personal growth. The curriculum now aims at the development of all aspects of child personality—physical, emotional, social, aesthetic, intellectual, academic, vocational, and so on. Great need exists for scientific determination of what should be subsumed under these heads, and what methods are best calculated for equipping children along these lines.

How shall the scope, sequence, and content of the curriculum be determined? In general, scope and sequence have been determined by the opinion of experts, laws, regulations, textbooks, and a consensus of practice without too much attention to the needs of the social situation or the abilities or interests of the group of pupils to be served. Various plans of reorganization have been attempted, such as the use of themes, social processes, and important social problems. Other attempts have been made to outline a program broadly in advance, but to allow modifications in accordance with current situations, the needs of each particular group, the problems of living as faced by pupils, and the degree of maturity to which children have developed.

It would seem that the curriculum should be built around important problems faced by children as well as the social situation

as viewed by adults. Children are concerned with the problem of home living. They are concerned with living with their parents and with one another. They are concerned with what the world may and could hold for them. Adults are concerned that the oncoming generation shall be properly inducted into the culture; that children should know something about their environment; that they should know how to think straight with reference to problems and issues which come before them; that they should have the basic knowledge, techniques, and skills essential for the proper understanding of their environment and the forces which act upon them, their families, and their community.

As to sequence, there is no magic formula. The studies which have been made give us some leads, but no clear directives. It is true that young children can grasp the beginning elements of complex ideas and principles. To do this, however, they must have abundant experience with such concepts. There is more than one approach to sequence, but whatever approach is used should be considered experimental.

In cases where a consideration of content outweighs other considerations, curriculum planning has not given sufficient weight to the needs, capacities, and abilities of pupils or to the local community. Content must be carefully selected, both in relation to the aims of education and the degree of maturity of children. Considerable advance has been made in the technique of using local resources and in giving meaning, background, and understanding to pupils. The historic and civic backgrounds of the community, the occupations and industries, governmental agencies, its geography and contribution from racial and social groups, all offer direct assistance to the curriculum maker and are of particular importance at the present time.

What steps should be taken to appraise the effectiveness of instruction and learning? The curriculum has been limited and often conditioned in the past by factual subject-matter tests. These tests have

given us information concerning what the children do to the curriculum; they often give us little insight into what the curriculum is doing to the children.

An examination of the reports of hundreds of teachers in schools reveals the following trends in curricular development:

a) Considerable progress has been made in organizing units around large problems.

b) Teachers have not been unmindful of the obligation laid upon them by the Board of Superintendents to give attention to courses of study.

c) Opportunities are provided for the following types of activities in the units: conference, excursion, research, dramatization, construction, interpretation, sharing, evaluation.

d) Many examples occur of the use of various types of materials and media in planning learning experiences.

e) The restrictions placed upon the teachers with reference to the scope and sequence of present courses of study have, in many cases, served as deterrents, causing compromises which otherwise would not result. This is due to the fact that present courses of study are not properly synchronized and the organization of such courses is in need of revision.

f) The quality of work done by teachers is clear evidence of their ability and capacity to participate actively in a cooperative program of curriculum development.

Some of the problems with which groups are struggling in formulating curriculum design are:

1. The necessity of agreed upon objectives or a frame of reference for elementary education, and for various aspects of the elementary-school program.

- 2 Recognition that a program of curriculum development will take into account both the research findings in growth and development and the experiences of New York City teachers, supervisors, and administrators.

- 3 Consideration of the possibility of organizing the curriculum

around large central areas, providing ample opportunity for the acquisition of the fundamental processes in relation to meaningful experiences and significant activities.

4. Providing flexibility of organization to permit a school to adapt its program in accordance with the needs, interests, experiences, capacities, and abilities of its students

5. The development of source materials that will assist teachers in the preparation of learning activities for children

6. The extension of the program of teacher orientation to new procedures and new plans to include a larger body of teachers than is now possible with the facilities and personnel available.

The trends which are evidenced, both from observation and from work with teachers, are: that longer and more flexible time programs are in operation in schools; that many kinds of activities are integrated to form units of study; that the entire school plant and the community are used as curriculum resources; that activities are organized which cut across subject lines; that subject matter and experience are considered as correlative; that teachers plan their work in advance but the daily sequences are worked out by teachers and pupils as they go; that there is emphasis on child growth and development, with much evidence that teachers are making a study of children a "must" in relation to curriculum improvement

The most effective work is going on where an experimental approach to curriculum development is taken; where supervisors and teachers work as peers, where there is widespread participation; and where informal techniques such as those developed in the workshop are in evidence. It is significant that in the midst of the great pressures which are placed upon the schools because of the need for adapting to war needs New York City teachers and supervisors still find time for the fundamental problem of curriculum reorganization, giving attention not only to present and pressing needs, but also to future fundamental planning in behalf of children and youth

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## PERSONALITY GROWTH

CAROLINE B. ZACHRY

Every living organism, human or otherwise, "grows" as it finds in the environment those elements which it can utilize to foster the developmental process. We see this all along the line—as trees reach out for water and sunlight, and push about to find room in which to spread outward and upward, as animals find their food, and the kind of habitat in air, or water, or jungle, in which they can thrive. Every organism builds from the past toward the future. It can absorb only in quantity and kind as it is, at any given state of development, ready to do so. The growth process is harmonious—it is one of continual integration—the absorption of nourishment in a pattern by which all of its parts are functioning as a unit—as they are reinforcing and strengthening the growth of the whole.

The child, unlike the subhuman organism, has mental and emotional, as well as physical needs. His emotional needs are basically two. First he needs to achieve; he needs to satisfy his restless curiosity about the world, he needs to find out, to do, and to make. And second he needs emotional security, the opportunity to find a place with others, to belong, to be loved. He grows as he satisfies these emotional needs in ways that are accepted in the society of which he is a part. His growth is a steady progression toward independence, toward the acceptance of increasing responsibility in proportion to maturity.

But though the child is so different from the subhuman organism, the fundamental growth process is the same. He too must be allowed to reach out for those elements in the environment which nourish his development. He too builds on the past. Every experience constitutes a foundation for those which are to come. No child can absorb and make an experience his own until he is ready for that experience—which means that he has really assimilated those experiences which have gone before. In the words of Horace Mann,



"We think with what we have thought, we do with what we have done." And it might be added, "We feel with what we have felt." Each individual child is different from every other child—has different interests, tastes, inclinations, aptitudes. And the growth of the child must be harmonious. As each aspect of personality reaches fuller development, it will contribute to the development of others—the forward movement of the whole will not be thwarted and hampered by the presence of conflicting impulses and desires which harass the individual and pull him in opposite directions, with consequent waste of energy and stagnation.

Unfortunately children, because of their extreme flexibility and power of imitation, are often deceptive to adults. Under the stimulus of fear, or the desire to win approbation, they conform to certain standards of behavior, and we confuse such conformity with growth. And many adults who are unadjusted, whom we know as neurotic, are the ones who, as children, were thus forced into conformity. Their right to a full and harmonious growth was denied. Their environment provided but meager fare for emotional growth; they could not gain the confidence that comes from achievement, or the security of knowing they counted with others, or one aspect of personality was sacrificed at the expense of another.

The environment provided by our typically "formal" schools tends to deprive the child of what his personality needs as urgently as the plant needs earth and sunlight. He finds little there to satisfy his curiosity or interest or his will to achieve. A world made up wholly of books is remote and unreal to him. Storing up facts in memory or acquiring skills to be put to use at some—to him wholly nebulous—future time has little meaning. Nor is he allowed, even within this limited sphere, to make his own adaptations, or to know security, either in relation to his teacher, to whom he is a "pupil," not a "person," or to his peers, who are in close physical proximity to him, but who have little opportunity for real social contact.

The so-called "activity program" has developed in our schools in

an attempt to meet these growth needs of children. It seeks to give them an environment rich in those varied elements which nourish and foster development. These classrooms, in contrast to those of formal schools, are real to children. They have meaning. The children learn by meeting actual life situations. These situations are of course subject to wide variation, but some typical ones would be—to the younger children—building and playing with a toy city made of blocks or of wood, to the older ones making model airplanes, or giving a play about Mexico, or selling War Savings Stamps, or editing a class newspaper. Such a classroom is a child's natural habitat. It gives him that chance to achieve. It takes account of the fact that his curiosity concerns the world outside the walls of the school; takes account also of the urgent need for security, for place, both in relation to other children and to the teacher. Through undertakings like the above, each child becomes part of a dynamic, functioning group. These children have—albeit with adult help and guidance—initiated an undertaking; they have planned it together and are proceeding, step by step, to carry it out, allocating responsibility for different parts to various smaller groups or individuals—each one contributing his share to the whole.

The school of the past offered to one type of child the chance to win a place for himself—the one who was academically minded. The one who was slow in arithmetic or a poor reader and speller had little status. The consequent sense of frustration often took a toll on personality. These children, denied a place in the sun, insecure and disturbed, tried to win security in other, less acceptable ways. They often became aggressive trouble makers. It is the old story—"If I can't be famous, I'll be notorious." Or they sometimes dominated and bullied the younger ones outside of class. Sometimes such children took refuge in fantasy, and sat at their desks daydreaming, imagining themselves in a world where they were great and powerful. Unfortunately these frustrations are not temporary in their effect. They may be lasting. How many of us can

trace a sense of inadequacy, hesitation to grasp an opportunity, or fear of meeting demands to a feeling of hopelessness in the school-room?

The school of today offers to every child his chance. The one who is a good organizer, the one who paints well, or has a keen business sense has quite as much chance to count as the one who makes high marks. Not long ago I had the opportunity to observe the way in which the activity program tends to build emotional security in children. Two boys were making a rather difficult shelf in the school carpentry shop. One of these boys had considerably more skill than the other, and he was more or less directing the work. The second boy was "taking orders" from him with perfect amiability. When the period was over the boys went to their classroom where they were studying early American history. Here the apprentice became the master workman, for he was chairman of a committee which *has assumed responsibility for finding out about the westward movement following the Revolution.* And the boy who had told him where to drive the nails and showed him how to saw through a difficult piece of wood was giving him earnest and respectful attention. And the security which comes with achievement along one line gives a child the confidence to put forth his best efforts along another. Real interest in one line will naturally lead to interest along others. Thus the group that is making model airplanes may be eager to find out about early methods of transportation in this country, and thence embark on a study of American history.

In the activity program the children have the opportunity to gain emotional security in relation to their teacher. Her purpose is not, as in the formal school, to compel the children to behave in a quiet manner, or to see to it that they memorize a certain number of facts, or acquire a certain degree of proficiency. She is a helper, skillfully guiding them along fruitful lines. This means that she understands them as personalities not as so many "minds." She knows when a child is lonely and has difficulty in making friends, knows when

a child is timid and why he is lonely, knows the child who loves the limelight, the one who is tense and repressed, the one who has been denied affection, or who feels hopelessly inferior to a brother or sister. And she handles each child differently; each in the light of his emotional needs; she adapts subject matter also to these needs.

I have said that where real growth takes place, the future is built on the foundations of the past. In the formal school this does not happen. The program of study is carefully planned, the various steps follow in orderly sequence, but the arrangement has been made in the light of an adult's conception of logic and order, not of a child's natural development. Thus it follows that steps in "progress" do not mean steps in "growth." In the activity program progress in learning follows step by step the children's own developing interests. And new interests will not emerge until previous experiences have been truly assimilated, have been made the children's own.

With this program, as has been shown, the world of the school is not remote from the world outside. The experiences are akin to those the child meets at home, in the yard, on the street. In fact it might almost be said that this environment is really an extension of the one the child has known before he came to school, and the one he knows after leaving it at three o'clock. Thus he is not subject to counter pressures—the pressure of the unreal world of the school, and of the real one outside. Over and over again emotional problems result from these conflicts. The child who runs away, the child who plays truant, the one who is lazy, or inattentive, or is continually causing a disturbance in class is often the one who simply cannot resolve these conflicts. The pressures are too great. Harmonious development does not take place under these conditions, for there is frustration and indecision. The result, in adulthood, is lack of achievement, lack of adjustment.

Integration can take place only where the individual has had the opportunity to find his real and native interests. This does not mean

that, in youth, he will necessarily have found his major interest, the one which is to dominate his life. But if his environment is one to which he is responding with his entire being, if the experiences are real and vital he will, as he reaches adulthood, find it, and previous experiences and skills which have been acquired will contribute to his developing personality. The child does so respond to the curriculum of the activity program. Not only does he learn through real situations, but knowledge is put to immediate use. The so-called "tool subjects"—reading, writing, and arithmetic—are really "tools," they are tools to implement action.

Where this is the underlying conception of education, it does not end with elementary school, or high school, or college. Growth continues throughout life, and is its "greatest good." The individual continues to find his satisfaction in "activity," defining the term in its largest sense. He finds satisfaction from accomplishment, and from winning a place for himself by the contribution he has been able to make. He does not need to seek satisfaction through the exercise of power over personalities of others; nor does he, in an attitude of helpless dependence, turn to them for support. Such growing persons are the ones who should become the teachers of our children.

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## THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY

JOANNA B. ROSEMAN

The curriculum of the elementary school cannot function apart from the community. The kind of community in which children live determines in large part the kind of curriculum which must be provided for their education. The kind of education they receive cannot be limited to school hours or schoolrooms. If children are to learn how to live efficiently in the community they must have direct contact with that community. They must come to know it and understand it. The school must know its educational resources in order to utilize them and its hazards in order to safeguard against them. Parents should understand the school program. They should regulate their home training in harmony with it and as far as possible avoid home influences that conflict with it. The education of the whole child requires the organization of all available educational influences.

Obvious as this seems on consideration, it does not represent the actual conditions under which most schools operate. The survey of the activity program in New York City by the State Department of Education reveals that in this area both the experimental schools and the regular schools with which they were compared are weak. It recommended that steps be taken to strengthen the educational program in this respect. There are available evidences that the same criticism might be made in many communities throughout the State and the nation. This criticism applies to each of the broad curriculum areas. It is particularly significant in the field of health education.

A study of the backgrounds of individuals is one of the most important factors in revealing health needs. The community in which an individual lives is not merely a geographical area. It is also a functional unit. Many different forms of human association find expression in this social structure. The family, the church, the

school, the neighborhood, various organizations, etc., constitute major influences in the individual's life. They determine his social environment. They shape his attitudes and assist in establishing his behavior patterns. They influence his health, growth, and development.

Communities differ from each other considerably. Economic resources are basic in fixing the levels at which individuals live and the opportunities they have for desirable health experiences. The social and cultural backgrounds of family groups influence the health habits of its members. Nationality and racial differences are reflected in various patterns of living. The customs and prejudices of individuals are revealed in their health practices. The educational backgrounds of homes furnish an index to their health ideals and health values. All of these factors assist in determining the social environment of individuals. They constitute the conditions that will influence their health. They create the differences in the health needs and health problems of individuals and of groups.

New York City may be taken as typical of urban areas that show great social heterogeneity. Some of its sections or health center districts enjoy not only local popularity but country-wide as well. The Lower East Side, for example, is one of the oldest sections of the city. In 1940 it ranked third in population in the list of seven health center districts of the city. An analysis of the nativity of its inhabitants reveals a very high percentage of foreign-born individuals and almost as high a proportion of those born of mixed parentage. The number of people showing native parentage is less than one per cent. The nationality distribution of the foreign-born population, in order of rank, indicates a large percentage of Poles, Russians, and Italians. Judging economic conditions by the rentals paid, the inhabitants of the Lower East Side Health Center District belong to the low income group.

Another area of the city, the Gravesend Health Center District, may not be known to those outside of the borough of Brooklyn,

but Coney Island, which is a part of the district, is known everywhere. In 1940 this area ranked fifth in population in the list of ten health center districts of Brooklyn and eleventh in the list of thirty-one districts of the whole city. The number of people of foreign born or mixed parentage is close to fifty per cent in the area. There is also a very large proportion of foreign-born individuals. Statistics show that the number of individuals of native parentage is higher in this area than in the Lower East Side Health Center District. The nationality distribution of the foreign-born population reveals the predominance of the same groups which are found on the Lower East Side, but in a different order of rank, namely Russians, Italians, and Poles. The proportion of individuals under five years of age is higher in this district than in the Manhattan area, but the number of those forty-five years of age and over is larger in the latter district. The economic level of the Gravesend district, judged by rentals paid, is higher.

An examination of the vital statistics for these two districts reveals some interesting information. For the past decade, the birth rate in the Gravesend Health Center District has exceeded that of the Lower East Side Health Center District. On the other hand, the number of deaths in the East Side area has been higher. The infant mortality rate has been almost one and a half times higher on the Lower East Side than in Gravesend. A comparison of the two districts on the basis of mortality from specific diseases shows that the Gravesend Health Center District is in a superior position to the Lower East Side Health Center District. In the Brooklyn area, the death rate from specific diseases such as heart disease, pneumonia, cancer, or tuberculosis is considerably lower than in the Manhattan area. On the basis of morbidity or incidence of disease, Gravesend also has a better standing. The morbidity rates, on the whole, are substantially lower for the Brooklyn section than for the Lower East Side. When the criterion for comparison is the health of the school population, it is seen that the Lower East Side has a higher



percentage of defects among its elementary-school children than is found among the children of Gravesend.

Thus we see in this brief picture of Gravesend and the Lower East Side two health center districts of the city, differing from each other economically, in density of population, in the proportions of foreign-born and native-born individuals, and in the nationality distributions of the foreign born. Mortality and morbidity statistics indicate that Gravesend is one of the better sections of the city whereas the Lower East Side is one of its "sore spots."

With such differences existing in the social and physical environments of the people living in these two areas, it follows that their health needs will likewise vary. A school health program that is uniform for both sections is obviously not meeting these needs. Such a program fails to examine the circumstances under which an individual lives. It fails to recognize the health problems which are peculiar to him because of his environment. It gives no consideration to the local health conditions which prevail. A uniform program is a contradiction of the best principles of program construction.

To be truly effective the health program must be developed on an extremely flexible basis. It must attempt to teach individuals far more than it has done in the past. It must provide each one with opportunities for developing vigorous minds and bodies. Such a program necessitates a substitution of the time-honored single curriculum for a flexible plan that is centered upon the specific needs of individuals.

In planning a health program the school must know thoroughly the individuals or groups of individuals for whom it is intended. It must take into account not only their psychological development but must also make a careful study of the actual living conditions. Habits of living, attitudes and knowledge of principles of health which prevail and those which are conspicuous by their absence, will thus be revealed. Problems which exist will be discovered. A

study of the environment will throw light on the traditions, superstitions, and mores of the people. It will bring into focus the social forces that shape the lives of individuals. It will indicate more clearly the health needs which must be met.

What is true of the program of health education is also true in the fields of social studies, language arts, training for citizenship, or for leisure-time interests. Public School 80, Coney Island, in the Gravesend area, at one time the largest public elementary school in the world, built its curriculum on this principle. From 1920 to 1931 before its absorption into several neighboring schools during a period of phenomenal community development the faculty of the school and representatives of the Coney Island Chamber of Commerce made a systematic survey of the home and community resources and liabilities in the major fields of home membership, individual and community health, good citizenship, vocational prospects, leisure-time facilities, desirable needs and standards of ethical character, and practical uses for the traditional tool subjects taught in the schools. These areas represented at the time the seven major objectives of elementary education proposed by the National Education Association of the United States. To these because of local conditions revealed in the survey were added programs of fire prevention, community cleanliness, and thrift education. On the basis of this survey the school set up its specific objectives and its curriculum.

The local survey showed among other things such significant needs as the following:

1. There was always grave danger of fire. Several large community fires had dispossessed many families. One out of every four children in the school in 1926 had actually lived in a house that had caught fire and in which the lives of the family were in jeopardy.
2. The number of questionable types of amusement and the presence of numerous adventurers with all kinds of catchpenny devices of the circus type exposed children to grave hazards every spring, summer, and fall.

3. In the midst of much poverty there were many tempting opportunities for children to earn considerable sums of money during the summer resort season by working many hours at night and all day on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays, and during the summer.

4. For several months each year, in some years throughout the whole year, families were herded into overcrowded apartments. For a few years about half the children lived "a family to a room."

A situation like this reveals the need for a special curriculum. At the present moment living conditions in New York vary to surprising extremes. The transient problem of Harlem is no more puzzling than the sudden influx of a colored population in the Brownsville ghetto in Brooklyn. The program that functions well in aristocratic Riverdale, select Jackson Heights, or suburban Richmond could not be used advantageously in thronging Chinatown in downtown Manhattan or in Puerto Rican East Harlem or in certain other sections where two populations with conflicting racial concerns and emotional strains are found. The activity program in the New York public elementary schools was planned gradually to discard the traditional fixed uniform pattern of curriculum for one that is flexible and adaptable enough to fit the special needs of varying communities and individuals. That objective probably represents its great contribution.

A few current evidences of adaptation of the curriculum to local conditions like the following may be found in several schools:

1. *Community maps and charts showing graphically the local social and welfare agencies* which are working with the school. In some schools each teacher has a mimeographed list for personal use.

2. *A survey of educational resources within a few blocks of the school.* Sometimes this kind of study is set up as a class project by one of the upper grade classes within a single school. A large community map is produced showing the markets, stores, pet shops, florists, museums, parks, churches, recreational facilities, factories, historical sites, public buildings, and other places which a class could

visit with the teacher with minimum sacrifice of school time. More than fifty such studies reveal actually hundreds of significant resources within five blocks of local schools.

3. *Parents' associations organized by classes or by schools to assist the school* in escorting children on trips, in providing materials of instruction, in demonstrating or describing native folkways or arts and crafts, assisting or participating in assembly programs, in safeguarding the school building in wartime, or in the conduct of community projects.

The activities indicated above are suggestive of the need of the school to know its community, and of the educational advantages of a curriculum which builds upon local resources and safeguards children against local hazards to health, safety, and morals. In working this way the school may have an important share over a period of years in reorganizing and improving the life of the community from which it draws its children.

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## THE CHILD'S DAY IN THE ACTIVITY PROGRAM

HAZEL M. SAUNDERS

In order to get a picture of what the child's day really looks like in the activity program, I will ask you to accompany Tony Picotto in the course of his day's work in the 4B class.

At the sound of the 8 40 gong, Tony, not waiting for lines, marshals, whistles, or size places, entered the school building and passed with his friends to Room 12.

After hanging up his coat and hat, he joined a group of pupils who were working at a small table in the back of the room. It was a bright sunny room, the kind you find in a building of the vintage of 1895. There was ample space for a library table, nature corner, game and puzzle shelf. An old painted cupboard, with small glass doors, serves as a sort of curio cabinet. The teacher's desk was placed against the rear wall. Gay, hand-colored curtains made by the children, decorated in Mexican designs, hung at the windows. The room had the distinct atmosphere of being lived in and loved by happy young children.

After the salute to the flag at the brief daily formal opening exercises, Tony joined a group at work sifting dirt for the window garden box. If Tony were asked to tell how he and his classmates spent the rest of that day, this is about how he would tell it.

I helped the boys add some sand to the rich, black dirt which Carl brought this morning. While we worked, Carl told us that his father went with him to a vacant lot near his home to get a bag of rich soil for the class. It was heavy, but Billy helped carry it in his wagon. In another part of the room, some girls are helping Miss S. with the seed catalogues and posters of victory gardens. Mrs. G's 7B art class loaned us some of their colored posters. They show gardens in town and country. We asked Clara to make labels for the display because she prints well. The Housekeeping Group took care of the plants, erasers, blackboards, and easels. Some children gave out

papers and arranged mimeographed reading material and individual number cards on the work table.

When the nine o'clock bell rang, we went to the auditorium. Here we watched Mr. B. set up the slide machine. Some older boys were helping him arrange the slides. These slides were given to us by a teacher who has a farm in Pennsylvania. The slides were colored and very beautiful. They are going to be shown to the boys and girls in the upper grades before we return them on Monday. Mrs. B. talked to us about the farm where she spent a week last summer.

After returning to the classroom, I joined the long division group. There are just eight pupils in it. Miss S. worked with another group in short division at the blackboard. Mary helped the group at work on number cards. When they got the correct answers, she wrote their names on the back of the cards. Miss S. checked these cards. Miss S. asked us to return to our seats to read and study more about point rationing. We practised using the A. & P. food point chart. It was not easy, but we want to be able to help our mothers buy meat and other food at the market.

Then Miss S. showed us some Mexican money. Mexico is our unit of work at the present time. Miss S. also showed us pictures of the Mexican markets. One picture was called "Fruit Sellers of Aguascalientes." That means hot springs. We saw pictures of women carrying huge baskets and straw bags filled with food bought at outdoor markets. Our stores are something like markets. In Mexico people sell food which they bring and buy things which they need.

I worked on my individual spelling list after I finished the regular spelling words. I studied the words I did not know. We added new words to the vocabulary chart yesterday. They were—*marimba*, *cactus*, *peon*, and *tortillas*. I studied the spelling of these words. We have over seventy words on our chart. There are many Spanish words among them. We had to stop our work to meet Miss I's class for outdoor recreation. The girls danced in the basement, while the boys played basketball relay in the school yard.

When we came back to the classroom, my committee was ready to report on Mexican markets. Rose showed pictures of markets from "Land and People," Book VII, pages 13 and 17. This was our report:

The peons go to market, not so much to buy as to enjoy themselves. They like to bargain. Whole families come along dusty roads from the hills. They bring earthenware jars, straw mats, and reed baskets. Some have donkeys. The markets are colorful, not only with food, but also with beautiful flowers such as orchids and lilies for sale. You can also buy fruit, vegetables, poultry, pottery, baskets, and leather ware articles. Down one aisle are bright-colored serapes and the gay sombreros. They also have a candy man, a water carrier, and a letter writer. Few people in Mexico can read or write. Education is one of their greatest needs.

The class then asked us many questions about the people and markets, especially about the money used in Mexico. They asked if food was rationed in Mexico. We are trying to find out. Another committee reported on the costumes worn by the Mexicans. Our reports will be entered in the log books later today. On Wednesday, my committee will report on Mexican ranches and compare them with our western cowboy ranches. We have seven more topics to prepare before we finish our study of Mexico. The one about early history is going to be interesting.

It was now time for us to go to the basement for morning milk. The milk is distributed by two boys in the 6B class, who are the milk monitors for this term. They take charge of collecting the money and ordering and distributing the milk. As the milk comes at a different time each day, a long sound of our classroom bell tells us the milk has arrived.

Miss S. said we might follow our own interests in the classroom, until the noon dismissal bell rings. I like this period best of all. I worked on my scrapbook cover. I tried to show the picture of a Mexican potter's home. I'm going to ask a boy in 5B, who draws

very well, to help me with the figures of the man and the dog. Sometimes boys and girls from other classes come in and help us with our work. Some children worked on cutout puzzles. A few read library books or worked on special reports. Miss S. and a group looked at the seed catalogues to see if there were any pictures of home gardens. When the noon bell rang we went home for lunch.

When I reached my class at 12.55, I saw a group talking to Miss S. I joined them. They were looking at a brightly colored serape that John loaned us for the exhibit shelf. His aunt brought it from Mexico several years ago. We hung it over the shelf and it certainly made the room look bright and gay. We have been promised a frilled lace headdress. I hope it will come very soon. My group entered the report on Markets in our log book. Then we all wrote letters to Miss B., thanking her for showing us the colored slides in the assembly. Tomorrow we are going to write a letter to John's aunt, thanking her for lending us the serape.

After I finished my letter, I worked at the pottery table for a while. I made a bowl of clay and I plan to decorate it when it has thoroughly dried. I watched some girls weave colored straw mats. The group working on the people made little figures out of pipe-stem cleaners and dressed them in bright crepe paper. I helped twist the pipe-stem cleaners to make arms and pasted on a square piece of gummed paper to make the chest and back. We looked in books to see if we dressed the figures correctly. We made striped paper by using colored crayons. Some girls made paper flowers.

Just then the gong sounded for an air raid drill. The room became quiet and we passed to the basement of the main building. We don't have commands in air raid drills this term. We just follow the rules. I joined the line marked No. 18. We waited quietly until Miss S. gave the signal for us to pass to shelter. My shelter area is on the first floor, outside the office. When the gong sounded, we returned to our classrooms.

Miss S. read us part of a story about Montezuma, the emperor of



Mexico, and asked if we would like to go to the library to find out more about the early inhabitants of Mexico.

I must tell you about our school library. It is in the other building, opposite the auditorium. The room was once a classroom and an office for the school clerk. The furniture is painted a light green color. The decoration in our library was done last July by some boys and girls in the departmental classes during vacation. The books are in bookcases with glass doors removed. There is a wall border of circus animals and people made by the children in the class for crippled children. There are two lamps with pretty shades in the library. The boys in our shop made a magazine rack for the library and the pupils of the C.R.M.D. class painted an armchair and a rocker and made flowered cushion seats. Of course, there are many small chairs and rockers for the younger children. We have an interesting corner for exhibits. At the present time a Japanese coin is shown. It was loaned to us by a boy in 6B whose uncle sent it from the Solomon Islands. This morning, one of the teachers brought in the jaws of a man-eating shark. We are going to ask Mr. Beal of the Staten Island Museum to help us mount it. The librarian's desk is in one corner of the room. Twenty-five pupils serve one hour a week. They are librarians. The bar graph behind the librarian's desk shows the circulation of books each week. Last week the circulation was 310 books. The 6A class gave an aquarium for the room, and we have one silver fish in it.

In the library my group read "Lands and People" in preparation for the report on Mexican markets. Some children looked in issues of the *National Geographic Magazine* for articles on the early history of Mexico.

As it was almost three o'clock, we returned to our classroom to check our plan for the day and prepare tomorrow's plan of work. This is our plan:

1. Listen to the Mexican dance record. We planned to do that today, but the air-raid drill prevented it.

2. Continue group work in arithmetic.
3. Continue our practice in point rationing.
4. Write letters to John's aunt, thanking her for lending us the serape.

5. Work on our straw mats, bowls, and pipe-stem figures. Study the decorations used by Mexicans on their pottery. Sketch on paper a plan for the decorations on our bowls.

6. Discuss the planting of seeds in our box garden.

7. Add the following words to our vocabulary chart: Aguascalientes, sombrero.

At three o'clock most of us went home. A few stayed to visit with Miss S. I tried to get my part of the report on Mexican ranches ready for tomorrow. We have assembly tomorrow at nine o'clock. Class 6A has charge of the program. It is called "The Good Neighbor." It is about Latin America. Class 6A borrowed some of our posters and exhibits to use in the assembly program.

It may be noted that while the class is working together as a community on a common project, individuals and groups have their own responsibilities. Most of these are directly related to the project. Some of them, however, have to do with the housekeeping of the classroom. Some, like the individual and group practice in arithmetic, are at times independent and isolated. It is apparent that the children have had several good language or reading experiences directly involved in their class unit on Mexico. The reader will note the absence of regimentation or formal repetitive drill from this child's typical day.

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## WHAT THE TEACHER DOES IN THE PROGRAM

ESTHER Z. SCHWARTZ

It is the first day of the new term with my fifth-grade class. I am confronted with thirty-six eager faces, thirty-six thinking, feeling, active children. What happens to them during the next few months is in my hands to a great extent. I pray that I may have the infinite patience daily to help them grow into socially congenial and useful people. Are they not the men and women who will make decisions tomorrow? I must help them adjust to a swiftly changing society. In that I realize my heavy obligation to each individual child, to his parents, and to society.

I have been experimenting with the procedures of the activity program under sound and sympathetic supervision for at least six years. Many difficulties clear up as one goes along. However, the more one knows about children and how they mature the less opinionated one becomes. There is always the obligation to rethink and reorganize classroom practice in the light of educational objectives. There is always the thrill of professional exploration and discovery.

Here we are facing each other for the first time as teacher and class. The children are not strangers to me, however. I have looked over their records and talked to their previous teachers; last term I visited them in their classroom to see them at work. My class visited them too. I knew some of them by name and achievement. Friendly relations have already been established. But now we are facing the challenges of a class with a new teacher.

We get acquainted with each other by talking about common interests. We elect class officers and plan our room duties. We talk about what we shall do this term. I suggest several functional areas for social learnings: food, clothing, housing, communication, transportation, conservation of human resources and natural resources. My enthusiasm plus their experiences weld us into an interested unified group. Later on, when we know each other better, one unit

of study will grow out of another. Now they must be helped to take the initial steps.

In answer to their questions we plan to visit the Public Library, to bring in books to share with others, to study the newspapers and tell about current happenings, to listen to the radio and discuss what the commentators say.

Next day and in the days following the children gather many materials—books, pictures, magazines, newspapers, and maps about the different theaters of war. Given freedom of choice, the children bring in books like *The Air Age*, *Book of Flowers*, *Adventures of Ellery Queen*, *Book of Electricity*, *Popular Science*, *Popular Mechanics*, *Book of Poems*, *Sue Barton Series*, *National Geographic*, *Life*, *Look*, *Stories of Famous Americans*. As these are discussed the books are listed on the blackboard so that all may profit by them.

We form various committees and do research work on social problems that our unit has stimulated. Each committee chooses a chairman and receives reading materials to circulate among its members. They realize that they must cooperate if their report to the class is to be valuable. When there is friction within a committee, the opportunity is used to teach pupils how to work together harmoniously.

In their research work and committee reports the object is to stimulate critical thinking and intelligent questioning. The children consult encyclopedias, the World Almanac, and current periodicals. The other day Sidney challenged Melvin's statement concerning the use of helium in dirigibles. Melvin found information in one of our school encyclopedias and read it to the class. By referring to definite, reliable sources we save much time and energy and clear up misconceptions in a friendly, objective manner.

The committee report or the pooling of their findings is one of the high spots of the day. Here we have a lively exchange of ideas. The leader sets the stage and introduces his committee. They make blackboard sketches, show pictures, and refer to maps while they

share with us some of the information and explanations they have gathered. Sometimes they perform experiments or enact dramatic incidents. The leader sums up, trying to pull many threads together. Then he requests additional information from the class. Large audience participation is a sure indication that the report held their interest. This is followed by constructive criticism from both the class and the committee and finally a check-up which may take the form of cross-questioning by the children, a topical outline on the blackboard by all of us, or a short answer test by the teacher.

When launching a unit the children are given a broad overview of the major areas which we may be able to explore. Thus we all know where we are going. Each morning we plan the day's work together. We remember that the school day should usually include five broad blocks of work:

1. Reading Activities and Appreciations
2. Language Arts
3. Research and Pooling
4. Arts and Crafts
5. Skills and Drills

In planning we are guided by our daily needs also, and we are always concerned with completing the jobs we have started.

The other day we began to write a play about aviation. We hope to present it as an assembly program later. We decided that it should be about the gremlins and the R.A.F. As we listened to some victrola records we tried to think of rhythms in terms of these strange little creatures. Thus, for the happy, carefree gremlins we chose the "Dance of the Flutes" from the Nutcracker Suite by Tchaikowsky. For grumbling, conspiring gremlins we selected "In the Hall of the Mountain King" from Grieg's Peer Gynt Suite. We planned to go on next day to make up dance steps suitable to the dwarfs. Those who could work out ideas together at home were to demonstrate them the following morning.

Next day our plan read thus:

*News and views.* This is a talk on current events interpreted and illustrated.

*Show and tell.* This is a talk or demonstration on some experiment tried at home, some book read, some original poem, some interesting letter received, or object found. A committee displays illustrative materials or passes them around. Questions are asked and invited.

*Reading our logs.* Individual and committee reports.

*Relaxation.* While we are having milk and crackers we listen to the victrola or tell stories.

*Writing about our special interests.*

*Research.* Pooling of information and illustrations by Harold's committee.

#### LUNCH

*Skills and drills.* Individual and group practice in arithmetic

*Library time.* Browsing and reading for pleasure.

*Conference.* Planning for our play. Dance demonstration and practice.

Planning the day is one of our many obligations. Other responsibilities come to the children daily. They learn to lead as well as to follow. They bring in materials for other committees as well as for their own. When working in groups the children have an opportunity to practise social amenities—using soft voices, giving the other fellow a chance to speak, respecting his opinion, learning to give as well as take constructive criticism. By rotation of room duties all the children manage to keep our room clean and attractive. Boys as well as girls do our dusting and wash the blackboards.

Sometimes I manipulate classroom affairs so that Evelyn, who loves to chat with everybody, checks to see whether each child is wearing his identification tag in the morning and at noon. June, who is inclined to be tardy, checks attendance and reminds certain children to be punctual. Jonah, whose desk and floor are often lit-

tered with papers, inspects the floor. Murray, who is always running into people, carries our milk upstairs carefully.

With wartime tensions crowding upon our children, many forms of expression are a necessity. Much enjoyment comes from painting, dancing, singing, weaving, claywork, and woodwork. In addition to these, I have found creative writing an urgent source of release. Here children frequently reveal their innermost feelings.

Lloyd's writing, for instance, though imaginative, is cold and callous. He is an orphan who spent several years in an orphan asylum before he came to me. He seems to have missed the warmth of family ties. One day he is a machine gun; another day he is an anti-aircraft gun made from scrap metal collected by the boys. One gunner after another is mowed down by the enemy but he, the gun, keeps right on firing. Lloyd does not care how many people are killed in his stories but he likes to read them to us all. I note in my anecdotal records his gradual change from an aloof, self-centered individual into a more sociable child.

While trying to develop their strengths, I am aware of their weaknesses too, and do something about them. Standardized Tests in Arithmetic and Reading are given several times a year and the results diagnosed. Remedial groups are set up and materials are adjusted to their needs. Individual conferences are held with parents at which times we discuss the children's progress and difficulties and also their attitudes and their health.

Each child keeps a folder of his logs and his creative writing. Thus from Alvin's folder his growth is shown in expressing his ideas, in the language skills, and in legibility. He keeps an individual list of his misspelled words, too. Through graphs in spelling and arithmetic he watches his daily progress in terms of his own past record rather than in class competition.

Posted around our room are many forms of class records. We have charts which show what newspapers our children are reading, what radio programs we are listening to, what books we are bor-

rowing from the library, also what room duties we are engaged in. Because we are stressing service to the community we record our buying of bonds and stamps, our conservation of all materials—school supplies, our clothing, and our food. We are adept at the spotting of planes, too.

Since we are living in a war period, we must keep abreast of the events of the day in order to interpret the war news, and to appreciate our priceless democratic and spiritual heritage. By presenting broad concepts through large areas and basic geographic controls, the children get the idea of interdependence among people and nations and the world of tomorrow.

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## DISCIPLINE IN ACTIVITY SCHOOLS

STELLA M. SWEETING

Mr. Brown would be absent tomorrow. He had so informed his class. "Who'll be our teacher? What shall we do? Will we miss our assembly period? Suppose we have an air-raid drill?" The questions came quickly and spontaneously from the seventh-grade students. Now, Mr. Brown believed that children should share responsibilities with the teacher, that they should be encouraged to show initiative and to think for themselves. "Suppose," he said, "we plan together what you will do while I'm away." The class attacked the problem eagerly. When they arrived at school the next morning, they would get to work at their individual projects and jobs. After thirty minutes the class would hold a conference and discuss any problems that had arisen in this free period. Alice would conduct the discussion, for, "She's efficient and doesn't let you argue over silly things. She's considerate and lets you give your opinion." A period of current events would follow, with the class president in charge. The bulletin board would be cared for by Tom. "He's artistic and arranges our clippings and pictures nicely." This would be followed by committee meetings with each group working on its own assignment. The committee on "Slum Clearance in Brooklyn" would probably be ready to report on its topic with its group chairman in charge. A rehearsal of a class play, "Visit to Red Hook Housing Project," would follow. As the last scene needed revision, the four boys who had made suggestions for the changes would work on it.

Thus the plans for the next day were outlined and written on the blackboard. Several social problems arose which had to be considered. "Suppose Richard won't behave? He likes to walk around and bother us. Shall we go for the teacher next door or shall we send him to the office? Shall we notice him or ignore him as you sometimes do? What shall we do if some children are absent in the afternoon? There's a ball game!" Each problem was discussed and faced

realistically. At the end of the day as Mr. Brown wished his class a cheery good afternoon, and the best of luck for next day, the children walked out promising cooperation. "We'll show you how we can do things ourselves."

The class arrived the next day, all enthusiasm. The principal was there to greet them and to say she appreciated their help. It was so difficult to get substitute teachers. The teacher across the hall was prepared to step into any situation that the class could not handle, but she was not needed. At eleven o'clock a substitute teacher arrived. All she had to do was sit in the rear of the room and let the class carry on. They rather enjoyed having this new visitor! Not a child, not even the peripatetic Richard, failed to live up to what was expected of him. Next day, however, some one did say, "It's nice you're back, Mr. Brown. You know so much, you help us."

This class composed of forty-five children from eight different schools had, in the short space of three months, become a socially disciplined unified group. How had this been accomplished? These children were normal, healthy youngsters and, as such, curious, lively individuals eager for action. The teacher kept them enjoyably occupied with interesting activities that they considered worth while. Therefore, they cooperated; they sought for more activities; they worked hard. Even spelling and vocabulary drill was worth the putting forth of much effort. Such work helped their reports to the class to be better.

Mr. Brown's students were always better for having associated with him. Yet, if this same class next year should get an unsympathetic, nagging teacher, if it should suddenly have its freedom taken away from it, if passive lesson memorization should supplant real learning, it could make life miserable for all with whom it came in contact. All schools know of classes that are the pride and joy of one teacher and the fiendish torment of another. Mr. Brown's classes would always be socially minded. His controls are social

rather than authoritative, constructive not destructive. Offenses and penalties played no part in his discipline.

A short time ago, I was talking to a group of children from a rather difficult junior-high-school class "Why," I asked, "does Miss Smith praise you so highly, while several other teachers tell me you don't work well at all for them." It was finally revealed that Miss Smith "expected them to be good." They never tried anything bad in her room. "What would happen if they did?" I asked. They didn't know. They'd never tried anything wrong. They didn't want to! Yet, Miss Smith does not inspire fear. She is a soft-spoken, conscientious, smiling sort of person who has confidence in the ability and disposition of all her classes to work hard. She has a reputation for helping slow learners, giving them a feeling of security. She never calls them stupid. She respects their personalities. This does not mean that she leaves all decisions to her pupils or that she abrogates her authority. She does set up constructive goals and leads her children to grow gradually and according to their individual abilities toward those goals.

Twelve-year-olds were the participants in the aforementioned situation. But what about younger children? Can they be self-disciplined? I have seen six- and seven-year-olds, trained by an expert activity program teacher, plan their own day's activities, work cooperatively and efficiently in group reading activities, handle their own problems of sharing materials in industrial arts, and clean up at the end of an activity. Their teacher, Mrs. Lee, aided, encouraged, and advised but she did not nag or continually remind the children to be quiet, polite, or neat! At the end of each job, the children evaluated their own work and made suggestions as to improvement. These same children through training received in school became better home citizens. They learned, through their daily morning lunch, to eat many different kinds of foods. They enjoyed making their own cocoa, jello, and butter; cooking their own oatmeal; cutting up a

fruit salad, and they enjoyed eating them too. They learned to plan healthy, varied lunches, to set the table, to practise good table manners, to wash dishes, to share. The parents of these youngsters, too, noted the difference in their children's habits and were grateful. So much so that they bought army cots for the children and sent them to the school. Thereafter, daily, from one to two o'clock, each child had a chance to sleep. It was a joy to watch how the children who sometimes did not sleep were considerate of the others and did not disturb them.

The brothers and sisters of these children, the more experienced eight-, nine-, and ten-year-olds, had developed more mature reactions to school. They had learned large audience conduct. They entered their school auditorium not in silent marching order but in the normal manner of adults. They walked in, sat down in the next empty seats, sometimes talked quietly, always listened with attention to music if it were being played. With a teacher or supervisor in charge, this group of two or three hundred children could carry on a discussion on some topic or some plan presented by the leader. Often when volunteers were called for, any number of children would come up to the front of the auditorium to sing, dance, or discuss some topic extemporaneously. Their poise was such that an adult could well envy it; their speech fluent and expressive though not always grammatical. School gave them so many experiences that they always had something to talk about. It was rare that any one would disturb the happy, delightful atmosphere of the assembly hour, for these children had learned to discipline themselves. They were given privileges and freedom, and accepted the responsibility that goes with these. They became extremely adaptable. As in any large school, emergencies occasionally arose. These were generally met calmly and intelligently. When the first air-raid warnings came, the children showed commendable self-control. They suggested plans for keeping busy while seated out in the halls on the floor. It was they who suggested the small pillows, the air-raid bags, and their con-

tents. When a teacher walking down a flight of stairs tripped and fell, when the leading character in a play became ill and fainted, not a disturbing sound was heard. No unkind or hysterical laughter ever interrupted children who lost part of their stage costumes or forgot their parts in school plays. These children, after three years of intelligent learning, had become mature and adaptable, well able to cope with emergencies.

You may well ask if I believe that the activity program results in no serious discipline problems. Of course not. Children will always break out from time to time. But the way in which these outbreaks are handled will determine whether or not the children become neurotic, unpleasant children or children who see their own faults and try to correct them. The teacher who takes wrongdoing as a personal affront to her, who scolds before investigating the reason for the misbehavior, who threatens capriciously, such a teacher will never have a well-controlled class. Her own emotionalism and instability are catching.

Teachers like Mr. Brown, Miss Smith, and Mrs. Lee will always have well-adjusted classes. Their rooms are delightful places where a pattern of daily democratic living is being formed. Like hundreds of other efficient teachers who love their work and are constantly improving their techniques and understanding of children, they believe in: (1) giving children personal and group responsibilities; (2) encouraging free discussion and expression of well thought-out opinions; (3) encouraging children to make rules and regulations for themselves, according to their abilities; (4) providing opportunities for many worth-while experiences; (5) encouraging the development of individual aptitudes.

These teachers will be remembered with affection and respect in years to come. Their wholesome influence endures.

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## EVALUATION OF AN ACTIVITY PROGRAM

J. WAYNE WRIGHTSTONE

In a wisely conceived activity program, evaluation and curriculum are integral parts of the learning process because, on the one hand, comprehensive evaluation is needed to provide evidence of the degree to which important curricular objectives are being realized and, on the other hand, new curricular objectives are the basis for evaluating pupil growth by means of various appraisal methods or techniques. Evaluation includes the gathering of comprehensive evidence about pupil growth by such means as achievement, attitude, personality and character tests, rating scales, questionnaires, judgment scales, anecdotal records and similar techniques. It includes the integrating and interpreting of these various indexes of behavior, or growth, into an inclusive portrait of the individual and of the related educational situation. Such a program of evaluation is dynamic and continuous because it is part of a growing and changing situation.

The role of the pupil in evaluation of an activity program is extremely important. The pupil and the teacher participate in planning both the learning activities and the evaluation activities. It is a joint enterprise and, ideally, it is a democratic activity. Pupils and teachers should participate jointly in setting up the objectives of a unit of study or a project. They should participate jointly in selecting rating scales or tests to measure growth toward various objectives. In some instances, they may devise rating scales or tests—where such a need exists and is feasible of execution. In addition, pupils should participate in self-evaluation enterprises of a semi-objective nature.

Learning becomes purposeful and to a degree more enthusiastic when the pupils know in broad outline the objectives of their learning activity and are consulted about the tests and techniques used to evaluate their progress toward these objectives. When evaluation is regarded as an integral and continuous part of the learning process,

measures of progress are applied not only at the conclusion of the unit of study but at various times during the development of a unit. The results of testing and evaluation, likewise, are used by teachers and pupils to guide the instructional activities. When evaluation is thus conceived, it is part and parcel of the learning process rather than something imposed upon the on-going activities of learning.

The teacher's role in the evaluation of an activity program is of central importance. The teacher will know much more than pupils about evaluation techniques and procedures and, therefore, will guide the children in any joint or self-evaluation enterprises. In addition, the teacher is the responsible individual for planning the total evaluation program for a class and for interpreting the results. Evaluation serves its most important function when the classroom teacher uses the data to adjust the activities of the classroom to the needs of individuals and groups. Much of the machinery of evaluation is ineffective if the teacher does not make use of it and coordinate it with the classroom activities. She must act as guide and counselor to the pupils for whose benefit the evaluation is planned. The proposition of evaluation and guidance is posited upon a rather complete, intimate, and sympathetic knowledge of the pupil which every teacher should have.

In every elementary school, an informal or a formal program of evaluation is present. In some schools and classrooms, a comprehensive evaluation program is being carried on. In others, a rather limited and narrow evaluation program is in practice. In some schools, the evaluation is made periodically, and in others the evaluation program is continuous. Many factors determine the type of evaluation program which is appropriate for and which is practised in any one school or classroom. These factors include, among others, the objectives of the curriculum and the kinds of tests or measures available. They include the teacher's knowledge about appropriate tests, scales, inventories, and other kinds of measures, the administrative policy, and the educational philosophy underlying the school curriculum.

The appraisal program described in this article has been drawn

from an activity program school in New York City. The educational philosophy which characterizes the curricular and evaluation program of this school may be called progressive. In this school learning is regarded as an active and multiple process; hence, experiences in the curriculum are assumed to operate so that they develop multiple aspects of each pupil's personality. If the pupil is studying a unit on housing, for example, it is assumed that his experiences in visiting a housing project or reading about housing in a reference book may at one and the same time influence growth in his acquisition of information, his social attitudes, his interests, his work and study skills, his powers of critical thinking, and his general, social, and emotional adjustment. In order to facilitate this multiple growth in pupils, the program is planned and administered on a basis wherein the pupil helps to determine not only the objectives but also the materials and methods for developing a unit of work.

This school has followed certain general principles or practices in evolving its curricular and evaluation practices. These steps may be briefly outlined as follows:

1. Identifying of the important objectives of the activity program accepted by the personnel of the school
2. Clarifying of each major objective by defining it in terms of pupil behavior and development which signify growth toward attainment of this objective
3. Engaging in vital activities leading to a realization of the important objectives
4. Finding available tests or appraisal techniques or constructing new techniques for gathering evidence about the degree of achievement of each of the major objectives
5. Applying the measures and interpreting the results in terms of both group and individual progress toward the major objectives

The major objectives accepted by this elementary school as goals for learning may be summarized as: (1) acquisition of functional information; (2) acquisition of work-study skills; (3) development



of personal and social characteristics; (4) development of desirable beliefs and attitudes, (5) development of powers of critical thinking.

The informal and formal evaluation practices for each of these major objectives are summarized in the following sections of this article.

#### EVALUATION OF FUNCTIONAL INFORMATION

Functional information implies that facts should be acquired and used for a purpose in learning, in this instance, an activity program. Their acquisition cannot be measured by a test that uses verbatim the terminology of a textbook. Such questions encourage an undesirable type of rote memory. Rather, the stress is placed upon ability to get and to remember important facts and ideas so that they may be utilized in thinking and in acting. For units of work on transportation, housing, and others, teachers and pupils of this school constructed their own informal tests using true-false, completion, and alternate answer items. In the upper grades of this school, also, a specially constructed test on current affairs was used to measure gains in functional information on current topics. In addition to these methods of evaluation, the teachers used evidence of pupil growth in oral and written reports, in the contribution of the pupils to the bulletin board, and in the use of facts in discussion periods to estimate growth in the acquisition of functional information.

*For formal testing of functional information in the social studies, in science, and in other areas of the curriculum, various standard tests have been used in this school. This type of achievement test is represented by the Stanford, the Modern School, the Metropolitan, and similar achievement test series. These tests and measures, however, need to be checked carefully against curricular content and trends to assure that they are valid measures of facts and skills that are being learned*

## EVALUATION OF WORK-STUDY SKILLS

The informal evaluation of work-study skills was carried on largely by observation of pupil performance and by the analysis of pupil logs and reports. Thus, the teacher was able to evaluate the ability of pupils to use reference books, to use the library, to use the index of a book, to read maps, graphs, and charts. The teachers were also able to use selected pencil-and-paper tests such as the Iowa Every-Pupil Test of Work-Study Skills<sup>1</sup> which includes subtests on the pupil's ability to read maps, graphs, charts, and tables, to use the table of contents of books, to use the index of a book, and to find items in reference books.

## EVALUATION OF PERSONAL AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

In order to measure such personal and social characteristics as initiative, cooperation, and leadership, anecdotal records and rating scales were employed. In addition, the pupil's own diary, or log, of activities provided a basis for making some evaluation. In compiling the anecdotal records, the teachers made notes of sample situations, activities, experiences, and expressions of selected pupils who deserved special study. Such examples of behavior were classified in accordance with categories such as emotional adjustment and social adjustment. Thus, it was possible to obtain valuable data about pupil behavior. The following example may illustrate some observations made by a teacher about a ten-year-old pupil:

September 10 — Jane cried when she failed to solve an arithmetic problem correctly.

October 3 — She pushed, without provocation, another girl standing near her.

October 9 — Refused to take part in playground games with other children because she was not chosen a leader of one of the groups.

October 15 — Used ridicule on Mary, a classmate, who prepared an elaborate report for the social studies.

<sup>1</sup> Published by Houghton Mifflin Company

November 3 — In class, struck Martha who caught a basketball which she had missed.

From these sample anecdotal records, it seems evident that Jane reveals a degree of social and emotional immaturity as compared with others of her age. She shows little emotional control and is jealous of those who achieve better than she. From other data, not given here, it is known that she is a "spoiled" child at home, is allowed generally to have her own way, and uses crying and tears with her mother when denied something she wants. These anecdotal records illustrate an informal method of teacher evaluation of personal and social characteristics of selected pupils. If anecdotal records are identified by simple code symbols they can be classified for easy reference and compilation in evaluating the progress of groups of children.

In another class in this school, the teacher worked with her class to devise a rating scale on personal and social conduct. Under the guidance of the teacher, the class discussed the items that should make up such a scale. Several sample items follow from the rating scale that was devised. The pupil rated himself and was rated by his teacher as "below average," "average," or "above average."

#### RATING

##### I. Be a Good Sport

- a) Play fair in games
  - 1. follow rules
  - 2. keep from cheating
  - 3. choose sides fairly
  - 4. accept leader's decision

##### II. Give Others a Chance to Do Things

- a) During a discussion
- b) During quiet activities
- c) Consider suggestions of others

These informal techniques were supplemented by more formal techniques for rating personal social growth. Scales used by teachers

include the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Schedules<sup>3</sup> and the Winnetka Scale for Rating School Behavior and Attitudes.<sup>4</sup>

#### EVALUATING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

Various informal techniques were employed by the teachers in this school to measure social beliefs and attitudes of the pupils. In the informal evaluation of such attitudes, teachers gathered evidence of attitudes through statements in class discussions, in individual interviews, and in oral and written reports. Thus the teachers gained some idea about the pupils' attitudes toward civic, scientific, social, and personal affairs and situations.

In the formal evaluation of beliefs and attitudes, the teachers of the fourth grade and above used a specially constructed civic-beliefs scale. This scale measured attitudes toward ideas, persons, and events. The pupil was asked to indicate by plus or minus whether he agreed or disagreed with such statements as:

1. The farmer is not as happy as the city worker.
2. Most people in other countries are not as bright as the Americans.
3. The forest owner should be allowed to cut down as many trees as he likes.

This test included attitudes at an elementary level toward such socio-economic concepts as transportation, communication, farming, food, and housing. The topics, or concepts, about which opinions were gathered, were derived from the curriculum of this elementary school.

#### EVALUATING CRITICAL THINKING

Another major objective of the school was the development of pupils' powers of critical thinking. Among the aspects of critical thinking which were stressed in this school were: (1) interpretation, or the drawing of conclusions from facts, and (2) the applica-

<sup>3</sup> Published by World Book Company, Yonkers, New York

<sup>4</sup> Published by Winnetka Educational Press, Winnetka, Illinois

tion of principles or generalizations to social studies and science situations. The informal methods which the teachers of the fourth grade and above used to appraise pupils' growth in these objectives were the use of short essay examinations based upon the interpretation data which were gathered in the development of a unit of work. In a like manner, the measurement of ability to apply generalizations was based upon written exercises in which several specific situations were given and the children were asked to select and to apply certain generalizations or principles which had been learned in their units in social studies and science.

The formal methods which were used included the administration of tests on ability to draw conclusions and ability to apply generalizations. In this elementary school, the test entitled *Test of Critical Thinking in the Social Studies*<sup>4</sup> was administered. This test has several subtests on (1) ability to obtain facts, (2) ability to draw reasonable conclusions from given facts, and (3) the ability to apply general ideas or generalizations to social studies situations. Thus the pupils were guided to obtain facts, to sift and weigh the facts, and to apply the generalizations to new situations or problems.

#### USING THE EVALUATION OF RESULTS

After the teachers in this school had applied various evaluation techniques, they organized the results into a summary or profile for each of the pupils. In this way, it was possible to determine the pattern of growth for each pupil. These data served, also, as the basis for the guidance program of the teacher who was able to interpret the results in terms of individual and group progress. One of the teachers used the results for the individualization of instruction. She noted that some pupils were weak in their ability to interpret graphs, tables, and maps. Others had not developed their skills or abilities in locating items of information from various reference books. This teacher brought into the classroom simple graphs, tables, and maps.

<sup>4</sup> Published by Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York

She encouraged pupils to bring into the classroom clippings of charts, tables, and maps and used these as exercises for acquiring the fundamental skills of reading and interpreting data expressed in these forms of communication. The teacher and the supervisor of the school, also, used the results of the evaluation in order to make an appraisal of the effectiveness of the curriculum and instructional procedures. They determined at what points the curriculum and instruction might need emphasis or revision.

#### SUMMARY

Evaluation of an activity program demands that curriculum and evaluation should be regarded as integral parts of the learning process. Both pupils and teachers participate in planning the learning and evaluation activities. As a first step, the major objectives must be formulated and defined in sufficient detail so that they are clear to supervisors, teachers, and pupils.

The evaluation practices of one activity school in New York City were described in some detail in this article. The informal and formal tests, techniques, and methods that were employed in the appraisal program of this school have been indicated under the major objectives — acquisition of functional information, work-study skills, personal and social characteristics, beliefs and attitudes, and powers of critical thinking. This program of evaluation is not fixed or final, but keeps pace with corresponding developments in curriculum practices and objectives.

The results of testing and evaluation are used for the individual guidance and study of pupils, for adaptation of instruction to individual differences, and for the appraisal of instructional and curricular practices. Thus the evaluation is conceived as a dynamic and continuous aspect of the emerging activity program of the modern elementary school.

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## CONCLUSION

Some of the gains made by the New York elementary schools are:

1. A more professional spirit among teachers and supervisors based on almost universal acceptance of the new program.
2. A more helpful, constructive, cooperative type of supervision.
3. *Increasing understanding, cooperation, and participation on the part of parents*
4. The appointment by the Board of Superintendents of an Elementary School Curriculum Planning Committee to recommend new courses of study, syllabuses, and teachers' guides appropriate to the new program of elementary education. Among the teachers' guides in preparation are: (a) *The Child's Day in School*; (b) *The Child We Teach*; (c) *Objectives of Elementary Education*; (d) *Materials of Instruction*.
5. The appointment of the Curriculum Council. Curriculum Bulletin No. 2, *Guiding Principles of Curriculum Development*, represents the blueprint and the measuring stick of all divisional and all local curriculum development at any school level.
6. The appointment of Junior and Senior High School Curriculum Planning Committees to develop a high-school program related to the elementary-school program and articulating with it.
7. Better new school buildings. The classroom in the newer buildings is lengthened seven feet. Movable furniture, running water, science and library corners, and other facilities have been added. The classroom is considered a place to study, a place to work, a place to experiment, a place to express one's self artistically, and a place to learn gracious living. A long-range program of rehabilitation of old buildings over several years has been started.
8. Valuable new materials of instruction have been created. The orange crate as a symbol of the activity program is disappearing.
9. Resistance among reactionary teachers and lay people has been greatly reduced through better understanding and growing confidence.
10. Improvement of the reputation of New York schools.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Language Habits in Human Affairs: An Introduction to General Semantics*, by IRVING J. LEE. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941, xxvii + 278 pages.

Like S. I. Hayakawa's *Language in Action*, this book is an introduction to the new borderline science called semantics, which examines the relation of language to psycho-physiological activity and thereby to social action. Lee's book suffers somewhat by the inevitable comparison, for Hayakawa's is more original, better written, wider in its interest, and less dogmatic.

The special value of Lee's book is that it is explicitly an introduction to the system of General Semantics which Alfred Korzybski expounds in *Science and Sanity* and teaches in the Institute of General Semantics. Starting with a foreword written by Korzybski, it proceeds to explain in comparatively simple language and with much illustration and repetition much of what Korzybski says on a more abstract and theoretical level in *Science and Sanity*. The difficulty which many readers have experienced in their initial attempt to understand *Science and Sanity* makes the present introduction valuable.

*Statistics on Crime and Criminals*, by WALTER A. LUNDEN. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: Stevenson and Foster Company, 1942, xviii + 263 pages.

This is a handbook of primary statistics on crime from European and American sources. The data are arranged systematically according to topics: Part I, The Problem of Crime; Part II, The Extent and Character of Crime; Part III, The Causes of Crime; Part IV, Administration of Justice; Part V, Treatment of Criminals. Of particular current interest are the materials on "Wars, Revolution, and Crime" and the section on judicial statistics which illustrates the quantitative phase of litigation in the country as a whole and in a limited region. The book is ingeniously conceived as a tool for the basic course in criminology. It is also copiously illustrated with diagrams, charts, and drawings which enable the general reader to visualize the volume and character of crime.

*An Educational Experiment in Northern Nigeria in Its Cultural Setting*, by DESMOND W. BITTINGER. Elgin, Illinois: The Brethren Publishing House, 1941, 343 pages.

Dr. Bittinger's book, much to his surprise, may find a valuable place in the field of history and descriptive sociology rather than in education. Apparently it collects for the first time into one handy volume, with adequate bibliography, what is known of the history and the social structure of the great Huasa-Bornu populations living just south of the Sahara desert. The judicious choice of facts and emphases in this section of the book makes it almost a necessity to any one working on conditions in Central Africa. The treatment of the too little known non-Negro elements in population and culture, and the very ably marshaled story of European contact will suffice alone to ensure this book its proper place.

The section on educational work, especially on the experiment in "indigenous education," is sure to disappoint many. Let it be borne in mind that the value of this work must not be measured by standards of the American schools of today, but rather by contrast with the formalism, ineffectiveness, and weakness of much education elsewhere in Africa.

*Principles and Techniques of Guidance*, by D. WELTY LEFEVER, ARCHIE M. TURRELL, and HENRY I. WEITZEL. New York: Ronald Press Company, 1941, 522 pages.

This comprehensive and inclusive volume has been designed in terms of the needs and interests of several groups: (1) cadet teachers preparing for service in the classroom; (2) experienced teachers who are interested in their own professional growth and increased effectiveness as instructors; (3) counselors-in-training specializing in the science and art of guidance; (4) counselors-in-service who desire to use the latest and most effective techniques and to develop greater skill in counseling; and (5) members of administrative and supervisory groups who need to understand the aims and procedures of the guidance program. The authors observe that the picture of guidance presented by present-day schools is a mixture of the specialized-staff or service concept of guidance, the education-as-guidance idea, and of course those schools which have given little or no thought to guidance. Current practices are dominated largely by the service idea, but the descriptive brochures and articles are usually written in terms of education as guidance. The present volume concedes

both points of view. The authors conceive guidance as an integrated process wherein the whole individual is considered. On the other hand, they recognize the important problems involved in the economic adjustments of making a living in a turbulent world. It is unfortunate today that so many "guidance" people have eschewed the vocational aspects of "guidance" in their frenzy to avoid the criticism of being narrow. No vocational guidance that neglects such considerations as health, command fundamentals, leisure-time interests, social and civic competence is of any value. Real vocational guidance in the past, as in the present, covered all of these significant items. This volume will make a fine text for classes in educational and vocational guidance. It is thoroughly catholic and competently written.

*Education for Economic Competence in Grades I to VI*, by RUTH WOOD GAVIAN. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1942, 190 pages.

What is it that makes a doctoral dissertation such dreary reading? Perhaps it is the iron-bound format to which it must conform; perhaps it is the necessity of meeting the approval of so many sponsors; or perhaps it is the modern necessity of "counting." This study gives evidence of suffering from all of these. The problem is that of determining the place and present extent of education for economic competence in the elementary schools of the nation, and the method of procedure chosen was the study and analysis of the vast numbers of courses of study on file in the Teachers College curriculum library. Six other methods are considered and rejected, although the author points out somewhat gloomily that "the principal limitation of this method is the uncertainty as to the extent to which the work of teachers is actually reflected in or influenced by the course of study." She might well have added that of the 238 items listed in the bibliography, reports and courses of study, nearly 200 are five or more years old.

*The World of General Haushofer*, by ANDREAS DORPALEN. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1942, 337 pages.

The sudden and immense popularization of geopolitics during the past two years has been both a cause and an effect of books like this one here under review. Stimulated by vague characterizations of "mysterious" and

"scientific," Karl Haushofer's picture in American minds has contributed to the myth of the Germanic superman. Dorpalen, by delineating the outlines of this figure, has removed some of the "bogey-man" qualities.

Geopolitics, by Dorpalen's definition, is "a political technique based on the findings of geography and others of the social sciences. These findings it activates—it considers them as living, dynamic forces out of which political developments evolve, and which, in turn, after careful analysis and evaluation, can be guided into definite directions. Geopolitik thus sees its mission in establishing political objectives and pointing out a way by which to reach them."

Part of the value of Dorpalen's book, perhaps the greater part, lies on the copious excerpts which his book includes from the writings of the German school of geopolitik. Well selected and edited, these say more than the text of the book. On the debit side must be mentioned the footnotes at the ends of chapters instead of in the more usable position at the bottom of each page.

*The Hero in History*, by SIDNEY HOOK. New York: The John Day Company, 1943, xiv + 273 pages.

The role of personality in history has always been a fascinating one. Today the question of heroic determinism has a peculiar timeliness when so few men can apparently decide so much. This study, by Sidney Hook, explores the limitations and the possibilities of the hero and his influence on the course of events. That history is made by men and women is no longer denied except by some theologians and mystical metaphysicians. Hook carefully analyzes the types of situations and conditions in which can justifiably be attributed or denied the influence of outstanding personalities. To Hook, the hero is the *event-making* man, as contrasted with the man who is only *eventful*. Two sentences, in Mr. Hook's concluding page, merit quotation! "To the extent that we are committed to a democratic philosophy, we cannot entrust the present political and social choices before us to an event-making man, or to an uncontrolled élite. As democrats, whatever planning we do must be planning for a free society in which every citizen can participate in the determination of collective policy."

# THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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## EDITORIAL

A remarkable change appears to have taken place recently in the public attitude toward postwar planning. The condemnation which editorial writers and public officials, fearful that we might lose sight of the immediate objective of winning the war, were wont to visit upon this activity a few months ago has largely evaporated. Congress, which last spring eliminated our chief national planning agency, is at present itself engaged in debating resolutions about America's future international course and has several of its committees busy discussing postwar policy. Even dyed-in-the-wool conservatives, who consider all attempts at social foresight *ipso facto* harebrained, have at least temporarily reduced their criticisms and objurgations to a murmur. In this more favorable atmosphere, postwar planning has become fashionable. Only a rare congress, conference, committee, institute, or seminar fails to incorporate some phase of postwar reconstruction in its agenda; and a veritable Niagara of discussion and opinion, devoted to tomorrow's world, pours from the radio, the press, and the forum.

In all this activity there is an immense amount of good will and enthusiasm and a sincere desire to be constructive. Unfortunately, however, much that is set forth is little more than an expression of good will. This is especially true of what passes for planning our broader social and economic objectives after the war. Much of what

is said of these objectives is nebulous in substance and lacks clarity of outline and purpose. There is a paucity of concrete details, a lack of focus upon specific objectives, and a deplorable tendency to forego discussion of the somewhat tiresome but highly important administrative techniques upon which the realization of objectives necessarily depends. In short, much of our more comprehensive social and economic planning may be criticized as planning without plans.

It is with this criticism in mind that the present issue of the JOURNAL has been published. The five articles here presented relate to some of the more concrete social and educational proposals which have come to light during the past year. One of these is the Social Security Plan of the National Resources Planning Board. Since its publication discussion of this plan, never very extensive nor very penetrating, has almost ceased. It is hoped that the article by Dr. Burns, one of the principal authors of the plan, and the supplementary criticism of the plan by Dr. McConnell, one of New York University's leading sociologists, will stimulate a much needed revival of public interest in a subject which no realistic consideration of postwar goals can afford to ignore. The content of Dr. Burns's article was originally presented at the opening conference of New York University's Institute on Postwar Reconstruction.

The two remaining articles are devoted to an equally important discussion of postwar educational goals. Directly or indirectly they have grown out of the research and other activities at New York University on postwar educational reconstruction. Chief of these was the Institute on Educational Reconstruction in central and eastern Europe which took place during the spring of this year under the auspices of the University, the Central and Eastern European Planning Board, and the United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction. As Research Director of the latter organization, Dr. Schairer has presented what he describes as a sociological approach to the problem of promoting solidarity and security for the postwar teaching profession in Europe. Dr. Myers, one of America's leading

authorities on higher education, has carried Dr. Schairer's idea somewhat farther along in his article advocating a world education office as one of the instruments necessary to the effective discharge of the responsibilities which will face the teaching profession in the postwar world.

These various articles will render yeoman service in suggesting to the public the outlines of some of those institutions upon which the realization of our postwar democratic goals depend.

ARNOLD J. ZURCHER

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

Of The Journal of Educational Sociology, published monthly, September-May, at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1943  
 State of New York } ss  
 County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Jean B. Barr, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of The Journal of Educational Sociology and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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JEAN B. BARR, Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22nd day of September, 1943

W. KENNETH ACKERMAN  
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 Cert. filed in N. Y. Co. Clk's No. 192, Reg. No. 4-A-114  
 Commission Expires March 30, 1944

## SOCIAL SECURITY AND OUR POSTWAR ECONOMY

Eveline M. Burns

When we think of the postwar world and the problems that we shall have to face and the goals that we must set ourselves, the most important challenge is undoubtedly the question of how we are going to maintain full employment. If there is one good thing that has come out of the war, I suppose it is the discovery we in America have made that when we put our minds on the job,<sup>1</sup> when we are prepared to take risks, to try new methods, and to use the inventive ingenuity we have, we can solve the problem of unemployment. We have also discovered that, in the course of, and because of, solving the problem of full employment, we can raise our national income to levels that all of us would have thought fantastic a few years ago.

We realize the significance of that statement when we remind ourselves that our national income during the year 1942 will have been about a hundred and thirty billion dollars. This year we are talking of pushing it up further still. And yet, at the depth of the depression, 1932 to 1933, our national income fell below fifty billion dollars. That is a measure of what this country can do when it wants to do it, when it is convinced of the urgency of doing it. When we think of the postwar period and of what we could do with a national income of a hundred and thirty billion dollars or more, of the goods that we could provide once we have stopped the production of armaments and turned to the production of things we need for peacetime living, it is obvious that the major objective that we must place before ourselves is the objective of ways and means of ensuring full employment.

The problems that have to be tackled in traveling the road toward full employment are many. As my agency, the National Resources Planning Board has pointed out in its recent *Development Report*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *National Resources Development Report for 1943, Part I, Post-war Plan and Program* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1943)



there are a great many problems for which we do not as yet know the answers. There are other problems in regard to which there may be a rather general measure of agreement as to what we must do when we break this gigantic task down, but there is still disagreement as to what are the best ways and means of doing it. There will be yet other aspects of the problem in regard to which there will be great opposition on the part of different groups in the community because their immediate, short-run interests may appear to be adversely affected by the solutions proposed. In other words, the task of attaining full employment is likely to challenge the ingenuity, the courage, and the inventiveness of this country for many years to come, and we may well find that we shall not immediately attain our goal. We may even find that from time to time we have made inaccurate diagnoses as to what needs to be done, and perhaps, therefore, from time to time there may be hitches.

It is true that, as the National Resources Planning Board has pointed out, an important contribution to securing full employment could be made if we were prepared at the end of the war and thereafter with adequate public-works projects that might help to take up some of the slack which may be left while private industry is grappling with the task of reconversion. But, the Board also points out, public works cannot be relied upon as anything like the major attack on the problem. Certainly there is a very real question, which we pose as boldly as we can, as to whether we are beginning soon enough and seriously enough to plan for projects of the type that could be put into effect immediately the war is over, or, at any rate, as and when they are needed.

Hence, if we are realistic, we must recognize the enormity of the task with which we are confronted. On the other hand, just because a task is enormous we cannot give up trying. It is wise to consider every measure open to us and not to despise some of the less exciting, but none the less secure, approaches to the problem even though they are not going to do the whole job.

Now one of the more secure approaches to the problem of full employment and the high level of production that full employment promises lies through social security. Indeed, in any platform of full employment, social security is a necessary plank. If we could assure to all the people in this country an adequate minimum income by one way or another, if we could make sure that no one's income falls below a certain level, we should at the same time be assuring to our producers a minimum market, at least so far as consumers' goods are concerned. And if we could do that, we would at least avert the downward spiral that this country experienced in the years 1930 to 1933. We should, as it were, have set a floor below which business activity would not fall. As we have seen when we look back on the history of Great Britain, an assured minimum income does give the economy a base from which to start. If we had this secure basis, then we could begin to build toward fuller and fuller employment and greater and greater productivity. The social security measures form such a basis on which we could build; for with an effective security system we could at least know that the level of employment would not fall below that made possible by this guaranteed minimum income, wherever it might be set.

My second reason for feeling that it is important to begin a discussion of full employment and the postwar world with consideration of social security measures is that I believe the people want social security measures. The response to the concept of freedom from want is spontaneous and genuine. And it is spontaneous and genuine because so many people in this country in the past have not known freedom from want.

While I am not so optimistic as to suppose, or perhaps even to hope, that most people will take the time to read through the National Resources Planning Board's report on *Security, Work, and Relief Policies*,<sup>2</sup> nevertheless I do hope that the public will become

<sup>2</sup> The so-called *American Social Security Report* (Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office, 1942).

acquainted with the summary of the report's conclusions. In undertaking the study, the Technical Committee of the Board tried to establish certain facts. We asked among other things the very simple question: "Is there freedom from want in the United States today?" To be sure we asked it as of 1940, but the programs we were considering are the same programs that we shall have to get by with when the war boom is finished, unless we make changes and improvements in the meantime.

What we found as a result of that study was that in fact many thousands of people do not have any type of security of income at all. We found, for example, that in October 1940, there were over 600,000 cases—cases involving both individuals and family units—who were admitted to be in need by local authorities or other welfare groups in various parts of the country and yet received no assistance at all, except surplus commodities. Hence it is clear that, in the future, if we should run into any serious depression and do not do anything about our social security programs in the meantime, many people are going to be left without any source of income.

We looked also into the level of living that existing social security programs provide, and we found that the level of living for the vast majority of people was meagre to the extreme. It was particularly inadequate for all those people who obtain such "security" as they receive from the general relief programs. When we compared the standard of living of people on those programs with even the minimum emergency budget that was devised by the WPA, a budget which is admittedly not very safe if you live on it for too long, we found that out of fifty-nine major cities of the country, none of the cities, even the biggest and the most progressive, was providing an allowance that enabled people to meet the emergency standard. About a quarter of them were providing less than half that allowance, and two of them were providing less than 20 per cent of that allowance. That also is not freedom from want. People may not starve to death, for it takes a long time to die of starvation; but this

is certainly not what the postwar world would call freedom from want.

We have clearly demonstrated as a people that we prefer, if possible, to secure ourselves against want through social insurance. And yet our committee found that our social insurance programs cover only a fraction of our total working population. Important groups like agriculture and domestic servants are left outside this preferred form of security and many of those theoretically covered may not earn enough to qualify for adequate, or even any, benefits. All those excluded from social insurance have to seek their freedom from want by undergoing a means test and, in many parts of the country, by submitting to conditions that are definitely destructive to self-respect.

We in America have always held that the problem of social security is not solved merely by handing out a dole to the unemployed. Indeed, our great contribution to the public conception of social security is our insistence that the only answer to the loss of a job is the offer of a job. Nevertheless though we may despise the dole we never succeeded in the seven years between 1933 and 1940 in giving work to as many as half the people who were unemployed. We did not even give work to all the people who were unemployed and in need.

Nor did we solve financial problems relating to social security in an intelligent way. We have not yet solved the problem of how to distribute the costs of social security among the different levels of government in such a way as to make the very poor States capable of bearing their heavy social security burdens without, at the same time, putting a disproportionately heavy burden on their taxpayers. Neither have we solved the financial problem of making quite sure that what we were doing in the financing of social security was consistent with what the Government was doing in other parts of its fiscal policy.

There were also administrative shortcomings in our programs.

We in this country have a much more difficult problem in approaching freedom from want than has, for example, Great Britain. We have a federal form of government and what we do usually involves the cooperation of several levels of government. We have very great diversity in our economic conditions. It would not be easy for us to pass a law and require the Federal Government to pay so much money to everybody wherever he lives, which would be equivalent to, or the counterpart of, what Sir William Beveridge has proposed. We must therefore have a series of related but diversified programs; and the problems of administering such programs in an orderly and logical way have by no means been solved.

Hence, we still have a long way to go before we can say that everybody in the country is assured real social security and before we can feel that we have done this in a manner that is fitting and suitable for an economical and intelligent people. For we must remember that the problem of social security is not just a matter of handing out to everybody. It is a matter of combining the interests of the insecure person with those of the rest of the population.

I said that my second reason for beginning to plan for the postwar world by adopting social security measures is that security means a great deal to the average man and woman. Between 1933 and 1940 this country at any one time was maintaining between fourteen and twenty-eight million people on one or another of its social security programs. That is the magnitude of the group of people who are definitely interested in what this country is doing, in what it is going to do in the future, to assure real security. Actually, of course, many more than that are interested, because not one of us knows when he may be among the fourteen or the twenty-eight million.

My third reason for feeling that we should begin with social security in our postwar planning is that here is a field where we have ten years of experience. We have tried in the *Security Report* to put on record what we have done, and why shortcomings are evident; and we have also tried to suggest what are the next things to be done. In

the days before the release of this report, there was a great deal of speculation in the press as to what it would contain. I think it is significant that there was a high measure of agreement among the guesses as to certain parts of the program, particularly those dealing with insurance and public assistance. This unanimity of the guesses suggests that already there is a wide measure of agreement as to what needs to be done. This agreement we hope will be confirmed as people read the report, with the footnotes and the tables and the analyses that have been made, in this all-too-weighty document. Organized labor has made recommendations which closely parallel our own. So also has the Social Security Board in regard to the programs for which it is responsible. The American Public Welfare Association, which has studied these programs, has come out with similar recommendations.

The main line of action proposed in the Board's report is a sixfold attack upon the problem of economic insecurity. We propose, in the first place, that more emphasis be put on the development of constructive and preventive services since, in the past, our achievements in the field of social security have been palliative rather than preventive. For example, a great deal of insecurity is due to ill health; yet we have very poor services to make sure that people grow up to be healthy and strong, or, if they are disabled, to rehabilitate them for work.

The Board also found that a great deal of the most appalling poverty, like that which occurs in the Southeast and the Southwest, is due to the failure of the nation to see the need for developing the economic productivity of those areas. We suggested certain policies along this line which we thought might be fruitfully explored. It was not our job to solve all the problems of the world; so we merely indicated some things that seemed to us to be most promising.

In the second place, we urged that if people have been out of work more than twenty-six weeks (which we suggested should be provided for by unemployment compensation), they should be provid-

ed with work by the Government if private industry is not in a position to offer them a job. We made various suggestions for the advance planning of projects that would employ these people. We also suggested the maintenance of high standards of efficiency and the payment of wages that would compare not too unfavorably with those available in private employment.

In the third place, the Board urged that special attention be paid to the needs of young people who are a peculiarly strategic group in the community. Part of our recommendations look to subsidized education for those able to profit by further education, but who are unable to afford it without financial assistance. Other recommendations concerned the development of work programs that would place great emphasis upon health measures and upon inculcating work habits and disciplines so that young people, on reaching the age of twenty-one, could compete effectively with other adults for employment.

We urged, in the fourth place, that, so far as possible, loss of income should be met through extended social insurance, because that course is preferred by the American people. We gave reasons for thinking that the social insurance method does offer certain safeguards to society against unfair, unsatisfactory, and undue claims, at the same time as it offers the insecure person a form of security which he prefers. We specifically suggested that the social insurance program should at once be extended to cover loss of income due to disability, whether permanent or temporary. We also made suggestions for extending the existing old-age insurance and for extending and improving the unemployment compensation program. Unemployment compensation is one of the least satisfactory of our social insurances, and yet it is the one that we shall most need during the dislocations that are likely to follow the end of the war.

We recommended, in the fifth place, that there should be a self-respecting and adequate public-assistance program that could serve as an underpinning to all these other measures. The great weakness

in the past has been that not all the people are old enough to get old-age benefits or assistance, or young enough to get on the youth programs; or there may be children whose fathers are unemployed but are not dead or disabled so that these children cannot get the aid available to dependent children. Many people do not satisfy the qualifications for a work program. There are always many thousands of persons who fall between all these stools. Only a program that provides on the basis of need alone, and in a self-respecting manner, for these people, will plug up every hole in the series of protections against want and insecurity. The committee made a number of suggestions for the development of an adequate public-assistance system that would not merely be negative in character but would be positive in character, which would try to fit people for a return to normal employment and normal activity.

Finally, the committee urged an expansion in those social services which are important for the welfare not only of the individual but also of the community. Among those were such services as education and health. We did not make many concrete, specific recommendations in those fields, because that was somewhat outside our terms of reference.

My final reason for saying that it might be wise to contemplate social security measures even while we are talking about full employment is this: even if we did get full employment we should not have licked the problem of freedom from want. Even with full employment, with jobs for everybody, we still have those who are too old to work, those who are too young to work, those who are too sick to work, and those people whom the economists call the frictional or temporarily unemployed—people who are just changing over from one job to another. These unemployed are always included in any concept of full employment.

The number of such people is surprisingly large. Today we have not only full employment, but we are trying to drag every person who can hobble into the labor market to do some kind of work.



Many of our old-age pensioners have given up their pensions and gone back to work, or have refrained from claiming pensions when they were due. And yet, in November 1942, the last date for which comprehensive figures are available, there were about 4.7 million households receiving public aid; that is, receiving their sole or major form of income from one or more of these social security measures.

It is no accident that within the last three months three of the great democracies of the world have initiated their postwar planning, in so far as they have got down to concrete details, with social security programs. I refer, of course, to the Beveridge plan in Great Britain, to the National Resources Planning Board plan, and finally, to the so-called Marsh plan for social security in Canada. All three of them point out the relationship between social security planning and the wider planning for full employment.

But I repeat, it is no accident that all three countries have felt it wise to begin their concrete proposals with social security plans, because to the ordinary man and woman—the farmer, the laborer, the professional, the white-collar worker—a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. The average man is very glad to know that plans are being made by all the high-powered brains in business, by his labor organization leaders, and by the Government. The ordinary man is glad to know that the nation has raised its sights and that there are people planning for full employment.

But the ordinary man is also intelligent and hardboiled, and he knows the problems are difficult. He is going to feel a lot happier if he can look at the statute books and see that, even if these plans do not mature or if there should be some hitch, he and his family can count on a certain minimum income which will be assured to them under any contingency. If he does that, he is going to feel happier about his own personal situation, and he is also going to be a more helpful person in the postwar economy. No one is going to spend accumulated savings if he does not know where next week's income is coming from; but if a man has a modest assured income, he may

be inclined to spend some of his accumulated savings as economists hope he will spend them.

So it seems to me, if I can sum the whole thing up in a nutshell, that action in the field of social security will, at one and the same time, complete the framework of protection that we have already begun to erect and begin the foundations for the framework of an economy of plenty. If we at least get that job out of the way—and it is not such a difficult job in relation to some of the others—we shall not only be giving our people a guarantee of the genuineness of our belief in freedom from want as a postwar ideal, but we shall also be doing something in the direct economic interest of all of us.

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*Dr. Burns* was Chief of the Economic Security and Health Section of the recently liquidated National Resources Planning Board. She was intimately connected with the elaboration of the Board's Social Security Report.

## A CRITIQUE OF THE AMERICAN PLAN FOR SOCIAL SECURITY

John W. McConnell

When Sir William Beveridge remarked recently that the "American Beveridge Plan" was to American social security what the 1909 Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws of 1909 was to its British counterpart, he was not dealing in idle whimsy. The American plan, as proposed by the National Resources Planning Board, is a statement of desirable objectives, but it is not a plan; it is a philosophy of public welfare which remains to be implemented. The great achievement of the British proposals of Sir William Beveridge is their definiteness. One senses the process which preceded the formulation of the Beveridge plan: What is the need? What resources are available to meet the need? How can these resources be most effectively utilized in the light of the social forces and conditions which control national life? This is the essence of social planning. The result is a workable blueprint, by means of which a comprehensive social security program can be made effective.

A sense of loyalty to things American might easily lead one to the defense of the American brand of social security; but as Abraham Epstein, the American pioneer in this field, once said, "It is a mistake to accept (the plan) without criticism simply because it proposes desirable objectives." Preoccupation with the war effort is probably responsible for the paucity of discussion concerning the proposals of the National Resources Planning Board. However, even those comments which have reached the press have been confined to superficial statements of approval or disapproval. Professional liberals have praised the plan as, for example, in the *New Republic Supplement* of April 19, 1943; professional conservatives have condemned it. That much was to be expected; but one had hoped for a more forthright discussion of so important a topic relating to the postwar world.

Social security in the United States is beyond the stage where it needs a pat on the back by a professional liberal because the objective is good. Americans believe in social security far more generally than a conservative press would lead one to suspect. The principle of social insurance is well established; but it needs clear, systematic treatment in order to develop those practical arrangements necessary to its effective operation. It is disappointing, therefore, to examine the details of the American plan and to find them essentially conservative, tied to the past, and repeating the errors made in the fumbling movements which marked the initial efforts in the United States to lay the foundations for social security in 1935. In the Beveridge Report, Sir William says that the first principle governing his recommendations is "that any proposals for the future, while they should use to the full the experience gathered in the past, should not be restricted by consideration of sectional interests established in the obtaining of that experience. Now, when the war is abolishing landmarks of every kind, is the opportunity for using experience in a clear field. A revolutionary movement in the world's history is a time for revolutions not for patching." Such a principle of action, if it had been followed by the National Resources Planning Board, might well have resulted in a much more effective and farsighted plan.

It would be well at the outset to state as simply as possible the author's criticism of the NRPB plan for work and social security. The underlying philosophy upon which the plan rests is admirable, and certain of the concrete suggestions offered represent desirable changes in the organization of social security in the United States. Nevertheless, some of the Board's proposals fail to take into consideration the worker's own feelings about work and security, while others continue in operation organizations and techniques of administration which were from the first inadequate and ineffective, and a lack of concreteness is characteristic throughout. Let us analyze the American plan for social security as set forth by the National Resources Planning Board.

The American "Beveridge Plan" falls roughly into four divisions. The first is the provision of work for all those able to work who cannot find employment in private industry. It is well to note that in this provision lies a clear departure from the British plan. The National Resources Planning Board is of the firm conviction that work, not social insurance or public assistance, is the first requisite of security. The second division of the plan proposes adequate income for those whose work is temporarily interrupted. The third part is a provision of adequate income through public assistance (direct relief) where neither work nor insurance is available or applicable. And the last division is the provision of health, education, and other welfare services to the general population where those facilities are not already operative.

The framework of the program is logical and practicable. The primary objective is to provide all with employment; where that fails or where stoppage of work is purely temporary there is the first level of support consisting of social insurances. If the individual is not caught up and supported by the work program or social insurance there is public assistance, the last bulwark against destitution and starvation. Underlying all of these supports, and checking some of the causes of insecurity at their roots, is a program of social services in health and education available to all who need them. At one and the same time these goals emphasize the long-range needs of the general population, and the short-range, temporary needs of individuals. It is not in the goals but in the practical arrangements and the social implications of the proposed methods that the influence of the past is noted in the Board's plan.

Work! The biblical story of God's curse upon Adam has perpetuated a bit of folklore into the thinking of modern man which has little or no real foundation in the culture of contemporary America. Work is not a curse. Among American workmen the real fear is not that the worker will have to work for a living, but that because of forces beyond his control he will not have the opportunity to work

for a living. Even in the midst of relative abundance of work that marks the war period, the worker's chief fear is unemployment which he is sure will mark the days that lie ahead. There is no substitute for a job.

Whether the job he holds is a good job or a bad job depends upon the worker's evaluation of the product he helps to produce, the wages he earns, and the opportunities for individual control and achievement which the job affords. The job is not only the source of the worker's livelihood, it determines his status in the community. The Board apparently was unaware of these elemental facts of workers' psychology when they proposed their work program, although the history of the WPA furnishes ample evidence of their truth as the Board's own analysis of Government work projects demonstrates. A few observations will make this clear. In spite of a general statement that the Government must necessarily take a larger part in planning and directing our national economic life in order to utilize more fully our manpower and natural resources, the Board *recommended a work program which is a stop-gap arrangement for those who cannot find employment in private industry after their social insurance benefits have been exhausted and whose unemployability has been clearly demonstrated by a long period without work.* The Board states, "In our discussion of the types of workers for whom work should be provided we have already indicated that, in the main, project employment should be limited to workers with relatively long periods of unemployment or those whose prospects of re-absorption by private industry are remote."<sup>1</sup> A work program for the least employable seems like putting the cart before the horse.

And what of incentive of such Government work? Under the WPA arrangement, once he was classified in a wage-skill category, there was no opportunity for a worker to advance. In fact, every

<sup>1</sup> *Security, Work, and Relief Policies*, Report of the Committee on Long-Range Work and Relief Policies to the National Resources Planning Board (Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office, 1942)

incentive toward better work which private industry offers was absent on the Government work projects. The ordinary guarantees of workmen's compensation, prompt medical attendance, and the opportunity to add to the family's well-being by extra earnings from odd-job work, which are found in private employment, were denied the project worker. Perhaps these matters will work themselves out in time should we ever have recourse to a WPA in the postwar world. Certainly the National Resources Planning Board makes no attempt to meet these difficulties. Then, further, the Board suggests that work projects be useful work and designed to fit the occupational characteristics of the unemployed. The Board gives the WPA credit for some success in this regard; but the fact is that the WPA failed to provide work of this character. Such usefulness and flexibility in governmentally provided work is impossible unless the Government intends to compete with private enterprise much more extensively than the Board intimates. The bulk of the unemployed are unskilled and semiskilled individuals, and public works can provide jobs in keeping with the abilities of many of them. But to think that road building, sewage installations, and the building of beaches and bulkheads can provide suitable work for a majority of the unemployed, especially marginal workers, seems a little shortsighted. The Board also recommends that Government work be under the direction of able administrators; but what able man will be attracted to a Government work project which hires marginal workmen, performs services of questionable usefulness, lacks social approval, and is of indeterminate duration depending upon political whim and the fluctuations of economic conditions.

In considering the Board's work program as a whole, certain pertinent questions claim attention. Can the program as outlined hope to provide work for any but the marginal worker? Will not the general public stigmatize the "project worker" and deprecate the job as "make work" just as it did in the past? Will the workman be able to respect himself and his work and be able to derive

from the job the spiritual satisfaction which normally employed men get from their jobs? Under the circumstances will not lack of enthusiasm, inefficiency, and waste be inevitable? It seems quite likely that the job program which the Board offers will provide a source of income, but it is hardly likely that it will preserve skill and work habits and sustain morale.

Two alternatives to the Board's proposals are suggested. The first is to introduce a program of Government work which will be operated exactly as under private enterprise. It will be designed to perform useful work, not restricted by the WPA formulas of non-competition, with modern equipment, and with the intention of continuing as a going concern, and not merely as public works projects established as a temporary answer to mass unemployment. The projects thus developed would hire bona fide unemployed men from the rolls of the United States Employment Service at prevailing wages if they are qualified for the job regardless of how long they have been unemployed, whether or not they have exhausted unemployment insurance benefits, and without a needs test. In other words, the Government would simply enlarge its activity as an employer, create additional demand for labor, and sustain the existing wage scale.

The other alternative is to stimulate employment in private industry through the techniques developed under the Public Works Administration and the present war production program; namely, the advancement of funds for the construction of public works, the purchase of new equipment, and the provision of a market for the commodities produced. Part of the product would be taken by the Government and sold abroad under international agreements for the exchange of goods, and the rest sold to low-income groups in the United States under the food stamp system. Both of these programs interfere directly with private enterprise, but the writer sees no hope for a stable economy in the future without some such interference



Both the alternatives have the advantage of providing jobs free from the stigma of "relief" and "make work."

In the field of social insurance the Board has made many of its best proposals: a unified federal system of unemployment insurance rather than the present Federal-State confusion; additional benefits for dependents rather than the present single benefit per worker regardless of family status; extension of the benefit period to 26 weeks; the elimination of merit rating; the extension of benefits to such groups as maritime workers, employees of nonprofit organizations, and employees of all businesses having one or more employees, and the addition of a disability benefit to provide an income in times of accident or illness. These are distinct gains; but desirable and gratifying as they are they fall short of the goal of a unified and coordinated system of social insurance operated through a single simplified administrative organization.

In the first place the fiction of private insurance is still preserved by the Board in that separate systems of insurance are maintained for the various risks covered, with separate systems of taxation, separate administrative bureaus, and separate systems of benefit payments. A suggestion here and there indicates that the Board was not unaware of the complications of the present pattern and the desirability of unification, but no concrete program for consolidation is offered. All systems of social insurance deal with but one problem—the loss of income because of the cessation of work. True a man will suffer longer periods of worklessness, presumably, if the cause is old age than if the cause is unemployment or ill-health. But after eliminating the reserve fund from old-age insurance, and admitting that actuaries are well-nigh useless in unemployment and ill-health, what is to be gained by separate taxes and separate administration? Consider the savings possible by so coordinating the social insurance program that one set of records, one set of taxes, and one staff of employees could handle *all out-of-work*

*benefits regardless of cause.* It is far more difficult to estimate the annual cost of unemployment insurance, old-age insurance, and health insurance separately than it is to calculate them together as a single risk and pay for them from a single social insurance fund.

Objections will be raised, of course, against a single unified system. How will one know when the limit of resources has been reached if all contingencies are met from one fund? That is answered best by asking another question: Is any one naive enough to think that if a man can claim benefits, as evidenced by his meeting conditions of eligibility, the Government will deny him benefits on the ground that the fund is exhausted? Only in nations on the verge of revolution as in Germany has such a course been followed, and with what results! Clearly, the only logical and effective arrangement is a "pay-as-you-go" plan of meeting current social insurance obligations out of current taxes, and borrowings if necessary.

A sweeping objection to unified and coordinated social insurance is still to be answered. Suppose unemployment, dependent old-age, and other emergencies are so extensive that they exhaust the taxing and borrowing power of the nation—is not the reserve system essential to prevent such a condition just as it is in private insurance? Since the Government has already eliminated all but an emergency reserve of three times current annual tax income in the old-age insurance program, it would seem that the answer to the objection is obvious. A reserve in the hands of the Government can never be a reserve. Lacking opportunities for private investment, a reserve can be used to reduce or absorb existing debt and thus improve the nation's borrowing power. There are no arguments other than specious bookkeeping arguments which can be raised against a single unified pay-as-you-go social insurance system.

Following naturally the unification of the various social insurances into one system, comes the unification of the tax structure that supports it. Separate systems of taxation now provide funds for unemployment insurance and old-age insurance. General taxes

are used to pay the Federal Government grants-in-aid for various forms of assistance. All of these taxes are regressive, and weigh more heavily upon the lower income groups in proportion to their income than upon the rest of the population. As the Board so well points out in the body of the report, the confusion of tax sources and the regressive nature of the taxes make the financial administration needlessly complicated and expensive and, from the point of view of maintaining adequate purchasing power to keep the economy stable, wholly undesirable.

The misunderstanding resulting from this complexity can be readily illustrated. It is rare indeed to find a wage earner who does not believe that the "social security" taken from his wages pays for unemployment insurance. In a few States, to be sure, employee wage deductions are made for unemployment insurance but in the vast majority of cases the employer pays the entire tax although the worker does not know it. The workingman does not recognize two different systems of social insurance, and, in all fairness, why should he? Common sense, as well as efficiency, demands a unified tax system to pay for social insurance, as the Board itself suggests, with the Government assuming a direct responsibility for part of the finances payable out of general taxation in order to relieve business and the low-income groups of the deflationary effects of a high burden of taxation in a period of declining markets and falling prices.

It seems regrettable, also, that the National Resources Planning Board Report did not try to establish specific standards of benefits for social insurance and public assistance. Reference is made throughout the report to a maintenance standard, which is inadequate, and to the goal of the Board, which is the American standard of living. But the Board refrains from setting a specific standard because of the complexities of the problem. Regional differences, the wide variation in relief and benefit standards now in existence, and the ever present fluctuations in price and money value are largely respon-

sible. Nevertheless the Board had here a real opportunity to exercise its function as a planning body. After all, of what value was the 1935-1936 Consumer Income Survey in which the Board had a part, if not to provide data by which some such problem as this might be dealt with? Certainly throwing the whole problem of determining standards in the lap of Congress without a concrete proposal is sheer political folly.

It is not an impossible task to devise a minimum budget for American families with recognition of regional differentials as, for example, those provided in the Fair Labor Standards Act. The money equivalent of this standard could be adjusted periodically to the Bureau of Labor Statistics Cost of Living Index. This plan of course leads directly to a substitution of the flat benefit rate in social insurance for the present confusing and unjustifiable efforts to vary benefits with earnings. What social benefit can be preserved by paying one man \$12 weekly benefit and another \$13.50, especially since both of these sums provide less than maintenance for a man and his family? The Beveridge Plan is much more realistic in this regard. It provides a maintenance minimum for all, allowing individual differences to be effective in the area above the minimum in the kind of personal preparation each individual makes for a rainy day through private insurance, savings, membership in fraternal organizations, and the like.

The most obvious omission from the American plan is the omission of any provision for medical care. Recognizing the difficulties which face any group dealing with the problem of providing adequate medical care for the general population, it remains a fact that some kind of plan is needed. Rather than submit to a policy of optimistic drift, or action by pressure, a comprehensive plan ought to be prepared now for review, discussion, and action. Perhaps the American Medical Association is becoming more favorably inclined to some form of social medical care, or again it may be unwise to enact legislation while so many medical men are in

the armed forces, but neither of these reasons seems to warrant the absence of a provision for medical care in a plan as comprehensive as the one submitted by the National Resources Planning Board purports to be.

The explanation of the omission recently advanced by a member of the Board is that while a medical care program is desirable, the inclusion of a plan would have directed the emphasis to medical care rather than prevention where the real emphasis should be. Granted the need for greater preventive activity, nevertheless, as the Costs of Medical Care Survey and other more recent studies have clearly demonstrated, there will continue for decades to be people with low incomes to whom medical care is denied or upon whom it falls as an impossible financial burden. While prevention is tackling disease directly in the years to come, some form of guaranteed medical and dental care, without the stigma of charity, for those in the lower and medium income brackets, seems to be a necessity. The experience with socialized medicine and health insurance in European countries, the experiments with voluntary prepayment plans in the United States, and the venture of the Farm Security Administration in offering medical care to certain classes of the farm population, provide ample data for the development of a program by competent authorities.

Upon one section of the report there can be no criticism. Both the history of public assistance and the proposals for improvement as presented by the Board represent careful, realistic study. Few people are conscious of the diversity and confusion which accompanied the public assistance (relief) programs of the thousands of local governments throughout the United States during the 1930-1940 decade. The preservation of a measure of local autonomy is necessary if our American way of life is to be maintained. However, there is no excuse for the perpetuation of human suffering because of ignorance of progressive methods, local political manipulation, absence of tax sources, or sheer reactionary cussedness.

The Board's proposals, aiming as they do, to preserve local government initiative, nevertheless, offer real hope of securing uniform national standards of public assistance, uniform rules of eligibility, and competent administration, mainly through the device of Federal grant-in-aid for local public assistance. Here again, however, one notices the chronic failure of the Board to accept the responsibility for making concrete suggestions. Enunciating the principle that Federal aid should be granted to States on the basis of need and ability to pay, the Board canvasses the difficulties of administering such a principle but suggests no formula by which the principle can be worked out practically. The formula for the grant-in-aid, not the principle, is really the tough core of this problem, and it cannot be softened merely by agreeing that it is tough.

Most educators will agree both with the Board's criticism of the past youth programs and its proposals for the future. Certainly the need for what educators call education at the operational level, that is learning by doing, is a desirable trend, reaching even greater proportions throughout the nation's educational system; but financial and administrative difficulties continue to hamper its growth. On the other hand there is obvious need, as the Board suggests, for more education in the out-of-school work programs for youth. At this point a word of caution may not be amiss. Of all the Government work programs during the recent depression, the Civilian Conservation Corps received the greatest approval; nevertheless severe criticism of the program has arisen because of the failure of the Government to introduce military training into the Corps' program. This may be merely a forecast of greater efforts in the future to meet the nation's need for trained military personnel by a more systematic youth training program than we have ever witnessed on this side of the Atlantic. Regardless of one's own belief in such matters, planning youth work programs in the postwar world must keep that possibility in mind. Furthermore, the experience of the Army and Navy in their training programs, and of the Civilian Public Service

Camps in their projects and work assignments, will have to be given due consideration. The Federal Government has not by any means exhausted the socially beneficent possibilities of keeping the great majority of qualified students in the established school system, public and private, by means of educational subsidies and tuition payments. Adjusting the curriculum to meet the needs of such students is not a difficult task as the present war training program shows, if the Government will provide funds for proper administration and equipment, and allow for a reasonable amount of experimentation. In fact the Government would probably save money if it would use the existing educational facilities more extensively instead of creating a dual system of education. The latter procedure has the advantage in that no discriminatory separation will exist between the boy of a poor family who needs Government assistance and a boy of well-to-do parents, who does not.

Many of the Board's administrative proposals have already been discussed under their respective programs. The efforts of the Board to bring some unification into the administration of the work, social insurance, and public welfare programs by coordinating administration at the Federal level is praiseworthy. The Board recognizes the objections which defenders of State's rights and local self-government will raise to their proposals, but quite rightly the Board discounts these in the interests of effective and economical administration. The present chaotic organization with multiple agencies duplicating and overlapping one another does not assure us that the sovereign rights of the States or the principle of local self-government will be maintained; it simply makes it easier for unscrupulous politicians and economic pressure groups to control the operation of these programs in their own interests.

On two recent developments in administration, the Board made no comment, believing them visionary and impractical perhaps. The first trend is the correlation of workmen's compensation with the other systems of social insurance as suggested in the Beveridge

Plan. In the United States, workmen's compensation is entirely under State operation. The problem becomes immediately important should the Board's suggestion of establishing disability insurance be adopted. Designed primarily to provide income when one is disabled as a result of sickness or nonindustrial accident, disability insurance obviously travels close to, and at times will follow, the same course as workmen's compensation. Standards of eligibility, benefit payments, and methods of insurance in the various workmen's compensation schemes throughout the nation show little uniformity. Although found in every State, such schemes cover only 40 per cent of the workers and payments are often meager. It is not difficult to visualize the confusion and protest that would result if employers were taxed by two Government agencies to cover the same or nearly the same risks, and if a man had the alternative of requesting compensation from either a State or a Federal plan. Although at present not a problem of major importance, it might at a moment's notice become such if reasonable plans are not worked out to bring workmen's compensation and disability insurance together harmoniously.

The second trend in administrative technique is the use of regional administrative subdivisions instead of State subdivisions. Although never specifically mentioned it seems apparent that the Board accepts the State and its subdivisions as administrative partners or administrative agents in the various plans. The Merriam Report on Administrative Reorganization submitted to the President some years ago advised the systematization of administration and more frequent use of regional subdivisions instead of States for administrative purposes. The proposal was made on the grounds of efficiency and economy. State boundaries are historical and arbitrary, not logical; generally speaking State areas and populations are now too small for proper administration; duplication, overlapping and complex administrative relationships mark the efforts of the Federal Government to cooperate with the separate States.



The adoption of regional divisions in recent years in such agencies as the Federal Reserve and various farm banks, the National Labor Relations Board, and the National War Labor Board has been met with appreciable success. Consequently it seems advisable for any program setting the pattern of the future to consider seriously the wisdom of experimenting with regional administration. Again attention is called to Sir William Beveridge's principle "... any proposals for the future, while they should use to the full the experience gathered in the past should not be restricted by consideration of the sectional interests established in obtaining that experience."

To avoid confusion no mention has been made in this discussion of the Congressional proposals for improving social security as embodied in the Wagner-Murray-Dingle Bill (S-1161) nor of the Social Security Board's own reports on this subject. In many instances they are more specific and more far-reaching than the NRPB proposals, as, for example, the medical care provisions and the increases in unemployment insurance benefits found in the Wagner bill. Perhaps unwisely the caption "American plan" has been reserved exclusively for the National Resources Planning Board's program. Surely these other plans deserve, and will receive, full consideration. In a real sense there is no American plan; there are only plans.

## SOLIDARITY AND SECURITY FOR THE EUROPEAN TEACHING PROFESSION

Reinhold Schairer

In all countries overwhelmed by the Axis in Europe the teaching profession has been the leading organization of resistance and, where the countries have been occupied, of the anti-Axis underground movements. Thousands of teachers have exposed themselves to the gravest danger and have been imprisoned, tortured, or killed. It is impossible to choose examples everywhere—in Russia and Poland, in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, in Norway and Greece, and in Denmark, Belgium, and Holland—the same picture presents itself: by far the greater part of the teachers are resisting the aggressors heroically. They are doing what the teachers did in Britain where, despite imminent invasion and the destruction or damaging of more than a million homes by air bombardment, they helped to maintain morale locally and to inspire resistance to the utmost.

Amongst teachers in the Axis-invaded countries there was neither panic nor an attitude of despair. Instead there was a resolute, hard, and bitter inner decision to stand and fight for freedom even unto death. What the British President of the Board of Education, Mr. Ramsbotham, said in his address of March 15, 1941, about British teachers is equally true of the teaching profession in the countries under the thralldom of the Axis. He declared that he did not think "any section of the population or any profession had shown itself more ready or adaptable in coping at a moment's notice with a host of problems." He added that "the people of our stricken cities would not readily forget the wonderful services rendered by the teachers at a time of acute crisis and danger."<sup>1</sup>

Certainly the world will not "readily forget the wonderful serv-

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from the author's *Britain's Educational War Efforts and Peace Plans*, published by the U. S. Committee on Educational Reconstruction, p. 8.

ices rendered by the teachers at a time of acute crisis and danger." But if we remember these actions in the future only in commencement addresses and in convention speeches, we shall have failed in our obligations toward their authors. Nor will it be sufficient to commemorate their deeds of heroism by building schools bearing their names. Only living institutions, directly aiding the teaching profession, will be a worthy memorial to those who were prepared for the greatest sacrifice, death in the service of others.

*We who survive can effectively commemorate their deeds of heroism in peacetime only by improving the conditions under which the teaching profession renders its service to the public. This improvement should take the form of greater security of tenure, pensions for old age, for widows, and for dependent children, and insurance in time of illness. We should establish and guarantee such security for the future not only inside particular national boundaries, but wherever needed, by a new institution that would ultimately unite all educational districts of a democratic Europe. Within such a framework we should guarantee to all educators that their well-deserved rights of social security will be maintained even in cases where the local or national educational authorities fail to fulfill such an obligation. Such an institution would be a real monument for those who died in order that survivors might be free to educate the youth of all Europe in the democratic ideals of freedom, equality, and peaceful cooperation.*

Such proposals as these are not abstract dreams. Under the leadership of the United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction, with Dean E. George Payne as its chairman, their substance was recently discussed and accepted unanimously by a group of two hundred eminent educators from ten different countries who participated in an Institute at New York University, April 7-8, 1943. The participants of this Institute were guided by the conviction that protests were too weak an argument against acts of Nazi

brutality and agreed that our duty in the democratic countries is to express our solidarity with the teachers and students of Axis-devastated nations by concrete and realistic actions.

The Institute was planned by a preparatory committee of more than twenty-five educators from the United States and Europe who had met regularly for some twelve months under the chairmanship of Dean Payne. It was jointly sponsored by the United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction and the Central and Eastern European Planning Board consisting of representatives of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, and Yugoslavia. The aim of the Institute was officially expressed as follows: "to develop concrete plans and actions leading toward the reestablishment and extension of highly efficient and truly democratic educational systems, based on equality, justice, and friendly cooperation in the four nations of Eastern and Central Europe after the defeat of the Axis and their liberation. . . . After victory, democratic educational systems will be needed as the basis for, and the condition of, every other form of reconstruction in the social, economic and political fields."<sup>2</sup>

The Institute was opened by Chancellor Harry Woodburn Chase of New York University. Subsequently Dr. John W. Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education, delivered the address of welcome in which he expressed the hope "that the deliberations of this Institute on Educational Reconstruction may be the forerunner of other similar meetings to consider the effective development of education as an instrument of international peace and stability throughout the world." He added that "it is important that we begin now to plan for the speedy rehabilitation of educational institutions in the democratic nations which have been overrun by the Nazi hordes; and that we should also extend our planning to include assistance in the eventual reconstruction of the educational

<sup>2</sup> See United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction, *Institute on Educational Reconstruction in Central and Eastern Europe, Statements and Resolutions*

systems of Germany and her satellites in which education has been prostituted to the evil purposes of evil nationalist leaders."

The representative of the United States Department of State, Dr. Ralph E. Turner, stated: "In this Institute which you have organized here we have private initiative working at these problems. That is truly American. It is the way we do things. It is the point of view of the State Department that it is from such private sources, through the co-operation of private agencies, that the program which is ultimately made a part of the United Nations program, with the support of the United States Government, will be formulated."

The realistic background of the Institute was commented upon by the Chairman, Dean Payne, who said: "Educators who participate in the program of educational reconstruction, both here and abroad, must be of a new breed with a widely different emphasis in training. They must above all be sociologists, who have learned the technique of building an educational program in terms of the background of the people and their needs. This requires not only a new emphasis in technique and research, but also different educational emphasis. The plans must be extremely flexible. Full use must be made of the new tools for learning, radio, film and recordings. While we help Europe we will help ourselves immeasurably more."

The President of the American Council on Education, Dr. George F. Zook, who served as chairman of the first session of the Institute, had this to say: "It is highly significant that the Nazis should have selected intellectual and religious workers as the particular aim of destruction which they have in mind. This shows us very definitely the contrast between centralized, tyrannical methods of government and those practiced by democracy. From the beginning of our Government, our leaders have emphasized the importance of education in the successful practice of a democratic

\* As quoted in *The New York Times*, April 8, 1943

power. There is nothing within our unwritten constitution more firmly fixed than that idea. We will be thoroughly interdependent after victory. . . . In a world of international democracy, it will be just as necessary for us to depend on education as its basis as it has been within our own national power."

Emphasis was placed upon the necessity of self-help movements. The Institute was advised that "cooperative self-help movements have to be the center of all educational reconstruction efforts. The losses of a nation in the outside world should be compensated by strengthening the inner forces. Self-help movements should be encouraged everywhere. To train the best leaders for these movements is the shortest way to recovery."

Dr. George D. Stoddard, New York State Commissioner of Education, in an address entitled "Message to the Teachers in Occupied Countries" expressed the spirit of the postwar thought in these paragraphs:

Perhaps the only tangible evidence of a real European federation of neighboring states is the Central and Eastern European Planning Board, which includes Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland and Yugoslavia. The Planning Board includes representatives of the Governments-in-exile of these four Eastern European countries. We know that they are doing everything possible in your behalf.

It is good to feed the hungry; it is good to heal, and Lincoln-like, to bind up a nation's wounds. The cup of milk and the red cross are symbols of decency and honor. But those of us who love the United States regard it as more than a dairy, a granary or a dispensing agency. To us it is a land to which enlightened people brought civilization's finest ideals, testing their worth in bitter conflict.

As educators in the United States, accustomed to long periods of peace and plenty, we have come to realize, with painful slowness, that the whole process of education is a world force for good or evil.

It will be your privilege to carry on after the war the struggle that you have thus far sustained. We want to help you, and we shall help you, in full recognition of the principles of self-help, self-determination and freedom from alien domination.

In short, you must tell us what you need most, and when and where.

You have in this country millions of friends and relatives whose avenues of direct aid have long been obstructed.

The reaction to this offer of the representatives of the Axis-invaded countries at the Institute was characteristic. They did not attempt to monopolize the good will of so many prominent American educators for their own countries but resolved:

- a) That this Institute shall be continued as an *ad hoc* institution and that its members shall be ready to offer to our friends the benefits of their experience, advice and help, and be willing to co-operate in this Institute after the conference until final findings are made and the task is finished;
- b) That the Institute should not be limited to the situation in the four Central and Eastern European countries united for post-war planning in the Central and Eastern European Planning Board, but should also take into consideration the situation in the other Axis-invaded countries.

Denmark, represented by its Minister at Washington, Henrik de Kauffman, expressed similar generous views.

The solidarity thus exhibited assumed realistic expression in the Institute's resolutions for action on various fronts. As respects security for the teaching profession, the following resolution was offered:

In the difficult postwar period most countries, recovering from the invasion of the Axis powers, will be in a very poor financial condition. For years all of their resources will be very limited. As always in such cases a tendency may prevail to cut first, and to the largest degree, the educational budgets and salaries of the teachers.

Those in power in these countries and those who advise them should favor the opposite policy and should consider *strong educational budgets as a matter of great importance in postwar times*. Wise statesmanship will in a time of crisis not decrease the school budgets and the salaries and security of the teachers, but will do everything possible to increase such salaries until they are equal to the income of other professional groups, such as lawyers or engineers. Only under those conditions will the best of the young people be attracted in sufficient numbers. This policy should be followed particularly in the field of elementary and high-school education and in the field of workers' and adult education.

At the same time *social security for the whole teaching profession*

should be established immediately. Security of tenure, old age, and widows pensions should be strengthened—not weakened. When a Federated Europe emerges inside a future world organization, an official *institution* should be created for all democratic countries of Europe which offers to all educators *full guarantee against losses of tenure, old age, and widow pensions* caused by bankruptcy or weakened budgets of a country, province, or community. Similar institutions should be created for other parts of the world.

Such an official insurance corporation for all teachers would have more than mere financial significance. It would give teachers the assurance that words like "World Government" are not empty symbols, but a reality.

The significance of these proposals might be formulated as follows:

1. All teachers throughout Europe shall enjoy tenure, a decent income, old-age pension, and pension for widows and dependent children in case of death, this guarantee to be fulfilled by the educational authority responsible for each school district, whether it be a village, town, province, state, or nation. In many parts of Europe, before Hitler came to power, this was a well-established rule, covering at least all the teachers in the state schools. In other parts this rule was not fully introduced; or income was still entirely inadequate; or certain groups of educators were excluded from benefits.

2. This security for tenure and pension for old age, for widows and dependent children should be guaranteed not only by the authorities directly responsible. There should be a second guarantee, given by a new international institution, offering its services throughout the whole of Europe. Membership in this institution should be open to all educational authorities or groups of educators. This would mean the establishment of a Security Institute for European Educators (S. I. E.).

3. The S. I. E. should be based entirely on cooperative principles. Every educator should be invited to become a member and his record should be kept at the institute. But the organization as a whole



should be the creation of the most progressive educational authorities in Europe. The governing and administrative body should consist partly of representatives of the educational authorities and partly of elected representatives of teachers.

4. The S. I. E. should have the character of a public insurance company, and therefore be tax exempt. Its task should be to offer benefits to the individual educator or his widow and dependent children in case the educational authority responsible for such benefits fails to render them.

5. The capital of the institute might come from two sources: (a) a percentage of all teachers' salaries, paid by the educational authorities; and (b) contributions from educators collected by the body representing the teaching profession. In this way educational authorities and the teachers will share the financial and administrative responsibilities.

6. It is self-evident that the risk will be unequally distributed. Well-established and financially able educational districts will discharge all responsibilities. Areas less prosperous and less well-established may from time to time pass through a financial crisis and make it necessary to appeal to the S. I. E. The resulting inequality of responsibility will not be a weakness but a strength. Because of this condition, the structure of the institute will be one and the same for the whole of Europe. The contributions as well as the benefits will be for a common cause. The guiding principle must be that no educator shall suffer from the inability of the educational district to pay salary and pension.

7. If the S. I. E. functions successfully, only few claims will be presented. Therefore the contributions of every district may decrease to a more or less nominal fee as soon as the capital is accumulated which would cover the maximum risk for 15 years. Actuarial experts certainly will be able to discover how large the accumulated reserves must be to guarantee the fulfillment of all possible obligations.

8. The capital accumulated should not remain idle. It should be invested in common enterprises of the educators of Europe, such as cooperative international recreation homes and medical centers, cooperative international conference camps and, if possible, in houses in different parts of Europe in which educators on their sabbatical year, or while travelling in other countries, can live together. The investing of funds of the S. I. E. in such institutions should never expose the capital itself to any risk, but every investment should be limited to cooperative enterprises of the educators throughout Europe, promoting cooperation, understanding, and peace. Surplus of the interest to be paid for every investment should be at the disposal of the annual assembly of the cooperative members. The possibility of using the surplus should again be limited to educational purposes. It should be applied, in the first place, to scholarships throughout Europe, in order to recreate as speedily as possible an educational profession and scientific leadership in the countries which have suffered most from the war.

9. The principal benefits of such a proposed security institute would be the following:

- a) The teaching profession of Europe will enjoy real social security.
- b) It would take part in a realistic experiment showing how effective the cooperative way can be.
- c) Its members would have an opportunity to meet together to discuss the common problems of their profession and assume responsibility for their common welfare.
- d) The teaching profession of Europe would participate in a great experiment to prove that the realistic sociological approach to cooperation is more effective than the abstract ideological approach of forming general organizations for discussions and conferences only. In 1919 the second approach was chosen. By 1943 we ought to have learned that a realistic sociological approach can alone promote effective international cooperation for peace.

An object lesson in educational sociology will be one of the most important lessons that the teachers of Europe can learn. For much too long a time many of them have been absorbed in abstract thinking, in theories, and in scientific concepts only. After the war the role of the teacher must change. He must have his eyes opened to events in the social field. his heart should speak for all who suffer and his hand and brain should be ready for every form of action, to promote justice, equality, and brotherhood in the world.

The members of the Institute on Educational Reconstruction were convinced that this new social attitude of the teacher and his willingness for social services must be expressed as soon as possible inside every nation and across frontiers. International cooperation of the teaching profession in abstract organizations or in a few international congresses will not be enough. Immediate concrete international action will be needed.

The resolutions of the Institute in this direction are an impressive testimonial of this new spirit. I shall therefore conclude this article by quoting some of these resolutions:

I. After the defeat of the Axis, the liberated countries in Central and Eastern Europe, and in other parts of the world, will need for their renaissance primarily strong educational systems, offering to all, without discrimination, equal opportunity and preparing youth for the coming peace in the same spirit of solidarity and social justice in which the present educators and students are resisting the Axis aggression. Those educators and students who survive, in the formerly invaded countries, will be splendidly equipped for this task. They have looked eye to eye into the face of evil forces which are out to destroy freedom, justice, and truth. They have fought courageously against these forces, and have developed a new concept: that education and learning are at the same time a deep social obligation. Teachers, students, and communities are more than ever united. In this respect, those educators who have passed through this direct experience will be better equipped for the task than those who have not suffered.

II. It is resolved: that the *planning and the reconstruction of education*, the teaching and the training of teachers, in all the Axis-invaded countries of the United Nations, must be done by those who have lived within those countries during these hard years, aided by their friends in foreign countries who are acting on their behalf. All help from the outside to these

heroic nations should be given only if agreed upon. This does not preclude the United Nations from preparing and offering *actions of friendship and solidarity*.

III. United Nations educators should offer and prepare other *special relief actions* to groups of educators in those countries. One of these actions might be the preparation and establishment of recreation and travelling facilities in Europe for educators who have suffered under the hardships of the recent years. Many will be emaciated, undernourished; tuberculosis will have ravaged many; the nervous systems of multitudes will have received terrible shocks. A plan of preparing hospitality and recreation facilities, including travelling in foreign countries, with the intention of bringing the best teachers of those countries back to their work with greatest possible speed, may be one of the important contributions we can make. Existing institutions like the *Sanatoire Universitaire* in Leysin, Switzerland, may be used for this purpose.

IV. *Short courses* for training new teaching staff will be needed in all liberated countries. For this, special funds and advisors should be prepared.

V. The colleges in America may prepare a *preliminary survey of such students and graduates* as understand the language of one of the Central and Eastern European countries or other invaded countries, who would be ready, if invited, to go to those liberated countries for one or two years to offer advice and help in the reconstruction of education. Such lists, with indications concerning the special field of experience and training, should be offered to those who have the responsibility for educational reconstruction in those nations. From these lists they could invite teachers whom they would like to use. It has even been suggested that, as soon as the war is over, special delegates from the liberated nations should come to America to select these helpers personally. Those who go should consider themselves as emissaries of education, resolved to serve as a living link between their home country and the guest country after their return.

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## INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION OFFICE

Alonzo F. Myers

What shall we do about the re-education of the Nazi youth after the defeat of the Axis powers? Among American and British educators, as well as among interested laymen, it is possible to find almost any answer one is looking for to that question. Here are just a few sample answers that pretty well cover the range from one extreme to the other.

Answer number 1: "Germany is impossible. She has already had her chance. The only solution is to kill every man, woman, and child in Germany."

Answer number 2: "British and American teachers, and perhaps some selected refugee German teachers, should take over the job of teaching the German youth. No teacher now in Germany can be trusted."

Answer number 3: "All German children should be brought to the United States or to England at age five and kept there for instruction until age twelve. Then they might properly be permitted to return to Germany after having been thoroughly indoctrinated in the ways of democracy."

Answer number 4: "There are thousands of anti-Nazi teachers in Germany. They and returned refugee teachers must be given the task of re-educating the German youth, under the careful guidance and supervision of an international commission."

Answer number 5: "Outside interference is bound to fail. Just as we would tolerate no outside interference in the education of our youth, so Germany would tolerate none. It is Germany's problem and must be handled by Germans."

The drastic solution recommended in the first answer is one that the United Nations would never adopt. Should we adopt this we would be guilty of the same crime as that committed by the Nazis

in Poland. It was because of just such crimes that a peace-loving world decided that Nazism must be destroyed. The second answer assumes that there are no democratic elements left in Germany. There is abundant evidence that this is not true. There is, and has been, throughout Hitler's regime, an active underground movement in Germany. Religious groups, both Catholic and Protestant, have repeatedly asserted their independence and have successfully challenged Nazi authority and Nazi ideology. The third answer would be unacceptable alike to Americans, Britishers, and Germans. Even if we were to do it, we would surely fail of our purpose and would merely succeed in establishing a generation of German youth who would have good reason to hate us for having torn them away from their homes and parents.

Those who hold that outside interference is bound to fail would repeat the mistakes of the period following the last war. This is sheer isolationism as applied to education. It is, and it must be, very much our business whether or not German children following this war will be indoctrinated with theories of race supremacy and world domination. If they are to be so indoctrinated, we might as well start getting ready for the third World War.

Then just what do we advocate? First, we must recognize that it would be as disastrous to the future peace of the world to permit Germany and Japan to go on teaching race hatred and world domination as it would be to permit them to go on building submarines and bombers. We must deny to them the right to continue doing these things. So much for the negative aspect of the educational program. We must extend in Germany, and in all countries, the democratic ideals of freedom of inquiry and of equality of opportunity through education for all, regardless of race, creed, sex, political belief, economic status, or accident of place of birth. It was my privilege some months ago to confer with President Benes of Czechoslovakia regarding these matters. This conference, in which Dean E. George Payne and other officials of the United States Com-

mittee on Educational Reconstruction participated, resulted in the letter by President Benes which is reproduced in this article.

With the defeat and unconditional surrender of the Axis, there must be no compromise with the Nazis, the half-Nazis, nor with the "Junker class." What Germany needs, and has long needed, is a first-class revolution to liquidate these groups. Such a revolution will surely come unless we and our allies prevent it. If there is no revolution our task will be infinitely more difficult. In any event the United Nations must strengthen, encourage, and utilize the democratic elements that unquestionably exist in Germany. Thousands of able, freedom-loving refugees are ready to return to Germany to do their part in establishing a society based on freedom and equality of opportunity. I am convinced that one democratically-minded German teacher would be worth ten foreign teachers in this important task of the re-education of the Nazi youth. There must be no place in the German educational program for other than democratically-minded teachers.

President of the  
Czechoslovak Republic.

London, 29th June, 1943.

My dear Dr. Payne,

I was really very pleased to have had during my visit in New York last May such an extensive discussion with you and your colleagues about post-war Educational Reconstruction and the establishment of an International Education Office.

Education has to play an absolutely essential role in the efforts to preserve the peace of the world following this war. It must never again be possible for Germany, Japan, or any other country to pervert education to selfishly nationalistic ends nor to utilize it as an instrumentality for teaching race hatred and world domination. It would be as disastrous to permit Germany and Japan to go on teaching these things as it would be to permit them to go on building bombers and submarines and warships for the purpose of again attacking those countries which are seeking to realize the democratic ideal.

There should be no delay in re-establishing democratic education in the Axis-occupied countries. As rapidly as these countries are freed from the invader, schools, libraries and other cultural institutions must be re-established. Teachers must be returned to their positions and new teachers prepared to take the places of those who have been ruthlessly murdered by the enemy.

I was, therefore, extremely interested in your idea, that there should be established before the war ends and with the least possible delay an International Education Office for the purpose of promoting and implementing the democratic ideal of equality of opportunity through education, regardless of race, creed, sex, political belief, economic status or place of residence.

I pledge my full personal support in the efforts of the United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction to bring about the establishment of an International Education Office. I shall present the idea to the Czechoslovak Government and, I hope, it will stand ready to join with the United Nations in carrying out this important project immediately, to the end that international planning in the field of education may go forward without delay.

With my best wishes for the success of your important enterprise,

Yours very sincerely,

(signed)

EDUARD BENES

Dr. E. George Payne, *Dean*  
School of Education  
New York University

What about outside supervision and guidance? For about two years I have been working on this problem with a capable committee of educators and lay citizens, representing not only the United States, but including also representatives of Great Britain and a large share of the United Nations. In this task we have had the cooperation of representatives of our own Government, the British Government, and the central and eastern European governments-in-exile. We believe with President Benes that there is urgent need for the establishment by the United Nations of an International Education Office. It is our belief that it should provide the neces-



sary machinery, not only for controlling, redirecting, and guiding the education of the Axis peoples, but also for re-establishing and strengthening education in the occupied countries, and for maintaining peace and better understanding throughout the world.

Obviously, if it is to be effective, this proposed International Education Office must not be a mere international pedagogical debating society. In relation to the re-education of the Axis peoples, it must have broad powers delegated to it by the United Nations, and later by whatever international machinery may be established for maintaining the peace of the world. It should be charged specifically with responsibility for supervision and inspection of education in the Axis countries, and should have the necessary authority for the enforcement of its directives. Equally obviously, the proposed International Education Office must have a broad positive program. The following points illustrate the scope and nature of such a program, which should, over a period of years, profoundly affect education throughout the world:

1. To lay the basis for a just and lasting peace by promoting and implementing the democratic ideal of equality of opportunity through education.
2. To provide facilities for the exchange of ideas and information among the nations of the world as to educational methods and procedures.
3. To provide means for making the services of technical experts available to nations desiring to improve their educational offerings and programs.
4. To provide facilities and machinery for assisting in the tasks of educational reconstruction throughout the world.
5. To provide means for facilitating the exchange of teachers and scholars.
6. To make available to all peoples of the world, including the Axis countries, instructional materials having international validity and free from narrowly nationalistic prejudices.

7. To work for the elevation of the status of the teacher in all countries, through such means as the elevation of licensing standards, safeguarding the intellectual freedom of teachers, and the establishment of sound tenure and retirement provisions.

8. To encourage adequate financing of public education in all countries, and the provision of decent salaries for qualified teachers.

9. To safeguard education against being used as an instrumentality for poisoning the minds of a country's people by fostering hatred, theories of race superiority, and the support of warlike aggressiveness.

We in the United States never understood the terrific power of education. It remained for the totalitarian states to provide to the world a tragic demonstration of the power of education to mold and to determine the thinking and the actions of people. We must now insist that this powerful instrumentality for good or bad, like the modern airplane, the press, and the radio, shall never again be made an agency for the destruction of civilization.

This proposal for the establishment of an International Education Office is now well past the stage of being some one's brilliant but undeveloped idea. Carefully selected committees of educators and laymen, assisted and advised by technical experts, representatives of our State Department, and by competent and experienced educators and statesmen from Britain and others of our allies, have given the matter long and careful consideration. There is substantial agreement that the general pattern should resemble quite closely that of the International Labor Office. There would be an International Education Organization made up of representatives of the teaching profession, the public, and the Government, from all participating countries. There would be a Board of Control, elected by the General Assembly of the International Education Organization. There would be an executive and administrative agency, known as the International Education Office, which would be responsible for carrying out the policies of the International Education Organization and of its Board of Control.

Much progress has been made during the past two years in gaining support for the proposal among professional and lay groups in the United States and abroad. The proposal, which initially was made by the United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction, now has the active support of many other groups. One such group is the Liaison Committee for International Education, under the chairmanship of Dean Grayson Kefauver of Stanford University. This group held a meeting at Harper's Ferry in September 1943. Another group which has recently interested itself in the proposal for the establishment of an International Education Office is the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association. Its pamphlet, *Education and the People's Peace*, published in July 1943, should be influential in building sentiment for the proposal. It remains true, however, that the major activity and responsibility for gaining acceptance and securing favorable action on the proposal for the establishment of an International Education Office has been carried by the United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction which has been actively developing and promoting this proposal through a special commission which was appointed in April 1942. The NEA Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education has actively cooperated with the United States Committee on this project from the beginning.

Just what is the likelihood that there will be favorable action? I believe there is good reason for at least a measure of optimism. In the United States there appears to be a steadily growing sentiment for it, paralleling the growth of sentiment for the participation of this country in international cooperation for the preservation of peace. Our State Department, through its Division of Cultural Relations, has been actively interested for more than one year, and has been represented in several conferences called by the United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction on the subject. The State Department has held at least one meeting which dealt with this proposal. I think it is both correct and fair to say that our State Department probably will not actively support and promote

this proposal unless it has unmistakable evidence of widespread public support for it on the part of the citizens of this country. Our State Department seems unusually sensitive to criticisms from the extreme isolationist and conservative elements.

Sentiment favoring the establishment of an International Education Office probably is at least as strong in Britain as in the United States. In official quarters, there probably is more support in Britain than here. Among the governments-in-exile there is overwhelming support for the proposal. The United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction has had the closest possible cooperation from Poland, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, and from the Central and Eastern European Planning Board representing these countries. All are officially represented on the United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction's special Commission for the Establishment of an International Education Office. A number of the other United Nations, including China, also are represented. Russia's attitude toward this proposal is not yet certain.

I believe it appears obvious to most educators that there must be some provision for international cooperation among the nations of the world in relation to education. I believe it appears obvious that failure to make such provision was one of the major blunders of world statesmanship following the last war. Most persons probably would agree that following this war we must not merely curb armaments in the Axis countries, leaving them free to indoctrinate their youth for another world conquest. That may be obvious to us, but I must warn you that it apparently is not yet obvious to many of our leaders who will make the decisions. There is a job to be done of persuading the public and our leaders that education is such a powerful force for good or evil, for peace or for war, that to neglect it will be to invite another World War within our lifetime.

## AN EXPERIMENT IN POSTWAR EDUCATION

**Arnold J. Zurcher**

One of the more unique experiments in postwar education in the United States is at present being conducted at New York University through its Institute on Postwar Reconstruction. The Institute was established with a generous grant from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation in January 1943 and is administered as an integral part of the University. Its immediate purpose is to focus the attention of students and the general public on some of the major problems of social and economic adjustment which face postwar America and to encourage public discussion of the issues created by these problems. Its ultimate purpose is to develop a more thorough and widely diffused public understanding of the immense difficulties that lie ahead and to promote a greater measure of agreement as to the kind of America we want after the war.

To achieve these purposes the Institute's principal medium is its weekly conference. Outstanding representatives of industry and labor, heads of research organizations, leading economists, and public officials from all over the United States and abroad are invited to address the various conferences and present the results of current research or the policies of the organizations which they represent. The discussion that follows each address is conducted in the best traditions of the democratic New England town meeting.

Participants in each conference include both graduate and undergraduate students of the University and the general public. The majority of the participants, however, are made up of representatives of member organizations of the Institute and so-called "scholarship" holders who are nominated by the Institute's member organizations. The latter now number more than seventy. Among them are to be found chambers of commerce, business corporations, research institutes, labor unions, libraries, and educational bodies. There are also welfare, agricultural, health, religious, and service groups. Many of

these member organizations, moreover, although they may have their headquarters in the New York metropolitan area, have constituencies which are statewide or nationwide. The delegates of these various member organizations provide a veritable cross section of the community. They represent many shades of opinion and their participation in the conference discussions serves to bring out alternative solutions for our many postwar problems, to bring the issues involved in bolder relief, and to clarify community thinking.

One series of Institute conferences has already been concluded. Eleven meetings were held during the spring of 1943. Each of them considered some aspect of the broad postwar goal of attaining full employment and establishing minimum living standards. A few of these conferences considered these broad goals from the point of view of some aspect of economic or fiscal policy giving particular attention to such subjects as social security, the business cycle, taxation, the public debt, and the economic role of government. Others considered these goals in the light of the aims of some major constituency or interest group in our national life, notably, organized labor, business and industrial management, agriculture, and religion. Although, as might be expected in so representative a body, serious differences of opinion developed in the course of the discussions, particularly as to details of economic policy; there was also concrete evidence of fundamental agreement on certain essentials. It was generally agreed that full employment after the stoppage of hostilities would necessitate providing peacetime jobs for some 12 to 14 million persons. To secure such a volume of re-employment or new employment, it was also generally understood that we would have to maintain production at a level that would provide a national income of more than 150 billion dollars. The weight of opinion, both learned and popular, suggested rather general agreement that this level of national income and this volume of employment could not be maintained by relying on purely automatic economic forces.

Government, it was agreed, would have to supplement the activi-

ties of private entrepreneurship rather considerably, especially in periods of economic recession, with expenditures for useful public works, if a sustained high level economy was to be ensured. The role of social security legislation in providing a minimum of income and thus a minimum of purchasing power in times of depression was also stressed, the implication being that no one expects to see the business cycle with its alternative periods of prosperity and depression eliminated. The conclusions may not be surprising or any wise novel from the point of view of the expert research economist. What is significant is the weight of sustaining public opinion concerning the conclusions which the conferences elicited or confirmed. Thanks to this first series of conferences there is a more widely diffused understanding of the probable trends of our immediate postwar economy as well as a greater degree of popular understanding as to the price which must be paid if we are to secure and maintain full postwar employment.

The Institute's second series of conferences began October 6, and will come to an end in January 1944. This series has been devoted to a consideration of the broad topic of postwar goals and economic reconstruction. Three of these conferences are to consider the postwar platforms of industry and organized labor. Another block of conferences, some seven in number, will consider long-range postwar policies for such important economic issues as public works, taxation, the public debt, the impact of technology and new inventions, savings and investment opportunities, and cartels and monopoly practices. Still another block of the conferences is to be devoted to the short-range problems of labor placement on the morrow of the peace and the disposition of the huge stocks of raw materials and productive facilities which the Government has acquired during the war.

The last group of conferences in this second series will take up the problems of our postwar economy in the international field. They will discuss the question of America's role in the rehabilitation

of countries devastated by the war, the proposals to facilitate international economic intercourse through the creation of some form of international monetary and clearing union, and the highly complicated but vitally important problem of restoring America's foreign trade and outlining the opportunities which the postwar period will afford for the investment of American capital and managerial resources in other countries.

The Institute also issues publications which provide transcripts of the conference proceedings, tie together the isolated discussions, and analyze and interpret the trend of opinion. By this means the Institute participants are provided with a cumulative pattern of expert and lay opinion expressed at the various conferences on some of the principal issues presented for discussion, as well as an index of the point of view of various interest groups. The prime weakness of the usual form of isolated discussion group is thereby largely obviated.

Two outstanding educators, Dean E. George Payne of the University's School of Education and Mr. Harold S. Sloan, Director of the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, and a member of the faculty of New York University are chiefly responsible for this unique departure in general education. They created the general plan of the Institute more than a year before it was actually set in operation and its present administrative organization and educational purpose are directly traceable to the ideas which they originally elaborated.

The record of the American voter's decisions on economic issues in the past leaves something to be desired. Again and again during the reconstruction period which followed the last war, he evinced a lamentable lack of understanding of even the most elementary economic principles. A case in point is the extraordinary inconsistency which he displayed after World War I on the question of war debts. He insisted as a matter of policy that intergovernmental debts be paid and especially that the United States should insist upon her rights as the predominant creditor nation. At the same time he appears to have experienced no great difficulty in insisting with equal



vigor that we should pass the highly protective Smoot Hawley tariff bill, the net effect of which was to shut out the only kind of payment which debtor nations, incapable of paying in gold, might have made; that is, payment in export surpluses.

The level of economic understanding thus displayed is certainly not high enough for any successful democratic solution of the enormously complex adjustments that will have to be made at the end of this war. We may desire full employment and rising living standards but we have little knowledge of how to attain them. As a people we know little of the complicated questions of investment, purchasing power, and fiscal policy which must be solved in order that full employment can become real. We have even less knowledge of the prices that will have to be paid if this ideal is to become something more than a beautiful platform or a benign wish.

Real danger exists too that our national ignorance of the essentials of economics may defeat our plans for international peace and security. Too few of the international planners seem to understand that a secure international order can be built only upon sound domestic foundations. Doubtless history will single out Hitler as the prime cause of the present war and the disturber of peace in our time; but history will also assess much of the blame for Hitler and our present troubles upon the world economic collapse of the thirties and upon those domestic disturbances attributable to that collapse which brought such a phenomenon as a Hitler to power. It must be understood that no world political order, no matter how carefully constructed nor how universally sanctioned, can long endure if trade is bottled up, unemployment is rife, and production and national income in this and other countries suffers a decline after this war comparable to the decline which occurred in pre-war depression years. Nor will America be able to assume that leadership in world affairs to which destiny appears to be inviting her if a decade hence our national income is cut in half, our able-bodied citizens are compelled to become itinerant haberdashers in order to eke

out a living, and we enter upon another era of boondoggling and public dole.

It is for these reasons that New York University's Institute has an important responsibility to discharge. Through the educational techniques which it has placed in operation and which others might imitate, it is hoped that *popular understanding of economic phenomenon* can be brought abreast the requirements of our domestic responsibilities in the postwar years, thereby ensuring popular decisions on our domestic economic structure which would be in harmony with the responsibilities and commitments which this nation is likely to assume in the international arena.

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## A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON POSTWAR GOALS AND RECONSTRUCTION

*Postwar Planning in the United States.* New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1943, 120 pages.

This is the second edition of the now well-known organizational directory on postwar planning brought out by the staff of the Twentieth Century Fund. At least 137 public and private planning agencies are listed with an adequate description of the areas of activity in which each is particularly interested. School librarians, program chairmen, and educational directors will find this little volume an indispensable reference work.

*Wartime Facts and Postwar Problems: A Study and Discussion Manual,* edited by EVANS CLARK. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1943, 136 pages.

In this volume experts have analyzed some of the principal social and economic results of our belligerent status in the present war and the major issues upon which attention will be focused when peace comes. Questions and reading references relating to the following fields are included: economic security, housing, health, education, public works and urban redevelopment, labor, agriculture, finance, transportation, industry and business, and international, economic, and political relations.

*Conference Addresses of the Institute on Postwar Reconstruction.* New York: Institute on Postwar Reconstruction, New York University, 1943, mimeographed.

Eleven addresses delivered by outstanding authorities on the general subject of postwar employment at the first series of Conferences of New York University's Institute on Postwar Reconstruction.

*The Transition From War to Peace Economy,* Report of the Delegation on Economic Depressions, Part I. Geneva: League of Nations Publications, 1943. II. A. 3. Columbia University Press, distributor, 118 pages.

This is the report of a body of experts of the League of Nations on measures for "preventing or mitigating economic depressions." It gives special attention to the impact of the war upon international economy, and to the problems that will be posed in the reconstruction period following cessation of hostilities. The nature of the reconstruction problem which postwar statesmanship faces is presented most succinctly. It will be nothing less than the reconstruction of the whole economic structure wrecked in the thirties, the reconversion of a total war economy to a civilian economy with as little friction as possible, and the simultaneous provision of adequate safeguards against a recurrence of the forces that led to disaster in the last decade. The report stresses the impossibility of any country achieving postwar equilibrium by national action alone, and gives thorough consideration to such international economic problems as the distribution of raw materials, the supply of capital, the stabilization of international exchanges, and the reformation of commercial policy.

*Post-War Planning in Britain.* New York: British Information Services, 1943, 80 pages.

An excellent guide to the many official and unofficial British agencies which, since 1939, have been making plans for postwar rehabilitation and reconstruction. This pamphlet supplements earlier publications on the same subject entitled *Peace Aims, 1939-1941* and *Britain Plans, 1941-1942*.

*Education and the United Nations.* A Report of a Joint Commission of the Council for Education in World Citizenship and the London International Assembly. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943, 112 pages.

This is the report of a year's study by a group of educators from various of the United Nations meeting in London. It describes what has happened to education in Germany and the occupied countries and makes recommendations for necessary postwar changes. It is perhaps significant that this report, contrary to that of the Educational Policies Commission in Washington, favors compulsory control of postwar education in Germany by educational officials of the United Nations.

*A Survey of Literature on Postwar Reconstruction*, by ADOLF STURMTHAL. New York: Institute on Postwar Reconstruction, New York University, May 1943, 100 pages.

This little volume provides running commentary on the leading ideas of more than a hundred current, representative books and articles devoted to postwar economic reconstruction in the United States and Great Britain, with primary emphasis upon the literature relating to the three postwar goals of full employment, minimum living standards, and social security. Excerpts from the literature included in the *Survey* are interspersed among the author's own summaries and appraisals. It is a unique and invaluable commentary and bibliographical guide.

*Post-War Problems—A Reading List*, a Select Bibliography on Post-War Settlement and Reconstruction. Compiled by R. FLENLEY. Toronto: The Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1943, 62 pages.

This is one of the more useful bibliographical and reading guides on postwar problems. Along with the names of planning agencies and the titles of the principal works of reference on postwar questions, it identifies pertinent official documents and reprints official statements of peace aims. Particularly valuable are the special lists of books and pamphlets relating to reconstruction in all principal countries. Normally such lists are not found in other bibliographies.

*The Tragedy of European Labor, 1918-1939*, by ADOLF STURMTHAL. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943, 389 pages.

This is a history of labor's decline as an independent social movement in Europe during the interbellum period. The author believes that the destruction of organized labor in Europe and the attendant destruction of political democracy is to be traced chiefly to labor's failure clearly to identify its aims and boldly to assume political responsibility commensurate with its stake in the community and its social significance. It is a vivid, penetrating diagnosis of the ills of post-Versailles democracy and a significant contribution to the literature which attempts to explain why the democratic political, and social systems of our generation have proved

so vulnerable before the onslaught of reaction and the monocratic social and political conceptions of those who are now challenging world freedom.

*Towards an Abiding Peace*, by ROBERT M. MACIVER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943, 195 pages.

This little volume by the Lieber Professor of Political Philosophy and Sociology at Columbia University presents a searching analysis of the problem of achieving a real peace after the present holocaust. The author has his special institutional blueprint of global organization and he quite correctly insists that effective machinery of this nature along the lines he or others suggest will have to be set up in order to give expression to the idea of world community and to foster that idea. But the important immediate contribution of the volume is its frank and understanding examination of the psychological and institutional obstacles that will impede the architects of the true peace and its persuasive plea that we conquer these obstacles to peace even as we overcome our military enemies. It is to be hoped that, among the leaders of the United Nations on the day of victory, there will be a few who are as versed as is this author in the mysteries of human nature and who possess as profound an understanding of history.

*The United Nations and the Organization of Peace*. Third Report of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. New York: International Conciliation No. 389, 1943, pp. 203-385.

This report contains the further recommendations of the Commission for the postwar settlement, special stress being laid upon the immediate necessity of making real the wartime unity of the United Nations by securing equal roles for Soviet Russia and China with the United States and Great Britain. The report urges also that we plan now to make the wartime machinery of the United Nations an effective instrument for handling global problems of postwar reconstruction and rehabilitation. Various papers prepared for the Commission by scholars are included. The reader's attention is especially directed to Professor I. L. Kandel's paper entitled Education and the Postwar Settlement.

*Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*, by HAROLD J. LASKI.  
New York: The Viking Press, 1943, ix + 419 pages.

This is a stimulating, profound, and scholarly commentary on the state of democratic values in the world today. The book undertakes three broad tasks: it places our era in the stream of history; it analyzes the nature of revolution, and particularly the revolution of our time, of which the present war is but a part; and it states the conditions of democratic survival together with a broad program of action aimed at the postwar period. The central argument of the book is, in essence, an extremely simple one. Laski holds that we are fighting a counterrevolution and the counterrevolutionists are not simple reactionaries. Fascism is capitalism rejecting its liberal origins in order to adapt its relations of production to a situation in which the liberal idea, politically, economically, and socially, would be fatal to the capitalist idea. Dr. Laski sees our society in the midst of a period of revolutionary change as significant as such eras as saw the decay of the Roman Empire; the birth, with the Protestant Reformation, of capitalist society; and the dramatic rise to power, in 1789, of the middle class. The author presents concise, cogent, and brilliant analyses of the Russian Revolution, the rise of fascism, and the plight of the democratic idea.

*Some Historians of Modern Europe: Essays in historiography* by former students of the Department of History of the University of Chicago. Edited by BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942, vi + 533 pages.

This collection of studies, published as a feature of the 50th anniversary celebration of the University of Chicago, by former students, is a welcome addition to the literature of historiography in that it bridges the gap left by the well-known works of Edward Fueter and G. P. Gooch. It covers the work of twenty-two historians of modern Europe of the last two generations and represents a fair sampling of the historical activities carried on in England and on the Continent. France heads the list with seven representative historians; England follows with five, Germany with four, Russia with three, Italy with two, and Spain with one. The arrangement is alphabetical and, of the authors selected, six are still living. No effort was made to effect a complete coverage of all the out-

standing figures as the choice of the particular individual for study was left to the student. The studies are a credit to the two members of the staff involved, Professor Bernadotte Schmitt and the late James Westfall Thompson. There is perhaps an undue emphasis on the extent to which these writers do or do not reflect a philosophy of history (*vid.* p. vi, "there are about as many 'philosophies of history' as there are historians"). Although the editor points out that no formula was imposed, there is a certain uniformity of treatment in that the contributors carefully analyze the results of the labors of these historians and leave a fairly clear picture of the concept of history held in its relation to historical method. The essays vary in length. Croce, the eminent historian-philosopher, gets 34 pages and Henri Sée, the economic historian, 33. The others average from 20 to 25 pages. It is interesting to note that many of these writers were also men of affairs, active in the political life of their respective countries. The selection bears out the statement made by the editor that "In the last fifty years or so the old manner of writing history as a record of politics, diplomacy, and war has been largely replaced by the social or economic approach." More recently, Schmitt says, two other tendencies have been coming to the front, an emphasis on the history of ideas and a willingness to abandon a national outlook for a view of world developments. Students of sociology will be interested in such characterizations as that applied to the Russian, Klyuchevsky, who defines history as "(1) a process, a motion in time, and (2) a study of the process. The process is nothing but a cavalcade through centuries of various unions of people that make up society. The three basic historic forces which build man's community are (1) the individual and his personality, (2) human society, and (3) the nature of a given country. He thus marries sociology to geography and presents their child as history" (*vid.* p. 200).

*Women at Work in Wartime*, by KATHERINE GLOVER. New York: Public Affairs Committee No 77, 1943, 31 pages.

*Women at Work in Wartime* is the title of the pamphlet published as a succinct compilation based on official Government documents. It discusses the problems involved in recruiting the eleven million women workers, that the War Manpower Commission estimates will be needed by the end of 1943 in war industries, in civilian jobs, on the farms, as nurses, and in the Auxiliaries of the Armed Forces. It also contains valuable material concerning women in the war.



The compiler, Miss Glover, raises a great many specific and timely questions which are answered briefly and sometimes graphically. There is an excellent section on women's service auxiliaries. The pamphlet has a well-selected bibliography.

*The Conspiracy of the Carpenters*, by HERMANN BORCHARDT. Translated by BARROWS MUSSEY. Introduction by FRANZ WERFEL. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1943, xix + 636 pages.

Hermann Borchardt came to the United States in 1937, self-exiled from Hitler's Germany. Written like a chronicle, *The Conspiracy of the Carpenters* is a socio-political novel that describes a world in rapid moral decline. The locale is a land which seems to stand for Germany just as Voltaire made "Persia" stand for France. The novel deals with the central heresy of our times, the heresy of material progress. One cannot help thinking of Hitler and his cohorts when reading of the demagogue Dr. Urban and his "League for Enlightenment and Economic Peace." Dr. Urban, like many another dictator, promised the workingmen pork on Sundays and stew on weekdays, but actually worked hand in glove with the big industrialists. As a novel the work suffers from the inclusion of too many episodes only remotely connected to the central theme. Some of the characters are especially keenly drawn but the Hitler-like Urban fails to become real. As a political manifesto, the novel hails the invincibility of the freedom-loving spirit which must inevitably triumph over the forces of evil.

*Social Institutions*, by HARRY ELMER BARNES, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942, 927 pages.

*Social Institutions* follows the theme of Barnes's earlier book *Society in Transition*, and interprets the relation of social changes to social institutions. His thesis is that we face chaos unless we bring our institutions up to date. As in his former works, the author arrays an impressive amount of data in support of his view. He organizes and presents his materials superbly.

Barnes sees democracy at an impasse unless we can eliminate the evils of capitalism from our economic institutions. He sees fascism as a social reaction to these evils. He weaves this economic factor into his treatment of the remainder of our institutional fabric.

Students of education will be interested in Barnes's interpretation of *their problems*. He agrees with those who believe that the only sound solution to social problems is education. He adds, however, as would many others, that a different type of education is needed if it is to lead the social process. He argues that World War I, the depression that followed, and the present conflict were produced by men who were the best our educational systems could produce. His antidote includes a revised curriculum, better guidance through use of intelligence and aptitude tests, and more academic freedom.

In most instances educators and sociologists will agree with Barnes. His thesis is sound, and his presentation is challenging. No wide-awake teacher can afford to overlook this book. The priesthood of the other institutions treated in the book should also make it required reading. Only at minor points is the book vague. World leadership is only infrequently the pride of our educational system, and when it is—as in the case of Wilson—leadership and planning never rise higher than the thinking of the people. This factor places educators under obligation to forget the old cliché that education is for scholastics and look to the needs of the community as the basis of educational procedure. This Barnes does not see. The possibility of the school becoming a community center and a channel through which the community functions collectively to solve its needs is overlooked. There are those who are far more concerned about the community folkways and mores which pattern the basic personality of the individual, than they are about course content, method, or procedure.

*Postwar Economic Problems*, edited by SEYMOUR E. HARRIS. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1943, xii + 417 pages.

The various essays in this volume contain some of the most original thinking on postwar economics yet published in the United States. There appears to be general agreement among the contributors that the capitalistic system as it now exists will be seriously threatened if, after the war, we are again thrown into the slough of a depression comparable to that of the disastrous thirties. That form of society, they appear to believe, can only be saved if it can guarantee a high level of national income and the attendant maximum employment and rising living standards.

Although the authors agree on these broad aims, they divide rather

sharply on the policies which they believe will secure them. The majority appear to accept the characteristic forms of governmental intervention developed since 1930, such as the social security and public works programs. But a serious division occurs over the question of governmental fiscal policy in its relation to private economy. Professor Alvin Hansen and certain of his colleagues see little hope for a high level economy unless surplus savings are drained off by government borrowing and high taxation and put to use through various forms of public investment. Others, notably Professor Schumpeter of Harvard, think that such draining off of income for public investment is probably inevitable, but believe also that attendant results in the form of high taxation, depletion of the financial reserves of business enterprise, uneconomic wage regulation, and enhanced political control of business will place our capitalistic structure in an "oxygen tent."

*Postwar Economic Problems* could hardly be more timely. It will supply the general reader with a truly representative inventory of expert opinion on the problem of achieving peacetime economic stability at high levels. This should advance popular understanding in a sphere where such understanding is greatly needed.

*Crusade for Pan-Europe*, by COUNT RICHARD N. COUDENHOVE-KALergi. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1943, 318 pages.

The goal discussed in Count Coudenhove's book is European federation. For more than twenty years, he has been the outstanding advocate of this ideal. His purpose defeated and his work destroyed apparently beyond redemption by the rise of Hitler, he renewed his efforts in America in 1940 and held his Fifth Pan-European Conference in New York in March of 1943.

In his long struggle, Count Coudenhove has seen more than a little of European politics and politicians and has come to know some of the latter rather well indeed. His comments on their personalities provide some of the most rewarding reading in this volume.

The author is uniquely suited by reason of his heritage and background to speak with authority on world politics. His family has roots in several European countries and his mother comes from a middle-class Japanese family. His aim and what he has said in defense of it will raise a great deal of controversy and many will, no doubt, oppose him vigor-

ously. His is, nonetheless, a solution that ought to be considered carefully indeed by those who propose, at this time, to promote a peace somewhat more durable than that which was organized at Versailles in 1919.

*War and Peace Aims of the United Nations*, ed. by LOUISE W. HOLBORN. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1943, 730 pages.

This extremely useful volume contains official documents issued by the United Nations and individual governments during the period from the outbreak of the war on September 1, 1939, to the end of 1942. In addition, it contains significant pronouncements by the Church and statements by political leaders in the United States and Great Britain. This material, coming chiefly from statements and speeches by responsible statesmen, and agreements and treaties which have a bearing on war and peace aims, forms an invaluable source of reference for the current historian, student, or teacher. It has a good index and bibliography.

# THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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## EDITORIAL

Basic to any discussion of the postwar world is a consideration of children. It is in meeting their problems that the program of the democracies is meeting, and will continue to meet, its severest test. These helpless, warworn youngsters—old before their time—are being subjected to situations that threaten, literally, to cause us to lose the peace ere we win a decision with arms. To starvation and neglect in the wartorn countries is being added thwarting and frustration of personality development in our own country because of prejudice as in the case of Negro and Mexican children, and because of neglect and unconcern about economic and educational well-being, as in the case of our mountain children. In addition, the appalling rise in delinquency is driving home to us the fact that delinquents are war casualties, the same as are the wounded from the battlefields. Some of them are going to be much harder to rehabilitate than the physically wounded.

The problems we face appear to divide themselves into two categories. The first is that of children in the wartorn areas of the world whose need will be largely immediate and of a relief nature. These countries possess the leadership and insight to care for their own youth provided they are given material aid. France, Belgium, and the Netherlands are examples here. The problems of the second group are different. They are chronic and involve long-range plans

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Some of them are domestic and others are not. Our own mountain areas, our Negro children, and our Mexican children, together with children from comparable situations all over the world, constitute this larger challenge to us.

In order to present these problems of children to its readers THE JOURNAL asked the Save the Children Federation to sponsor this issue. Mr. Henry Israel, who serves as issue editor, has a rich background of experience in this field. He served in Germany as executive director of the European Student Relief of the World's Student Christian Federation from 1920 to 1922. His agency is also rooted in the relief and rehabilitation of that era. It is a division of the Save the Children International Union with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland.

The editors believe they will have made a significant contribution to child welfare if this presentation stimulates thinking on these problems.

DAN W. DODSON

## SAVE THE CHILDREN FOR WHAT?

Pearl S. Buck

I suppose there has never been an age when children have suffered more heavily than they have in this one. It is ironical that in an age when we have prided ourselves on our progress in the intelligent care and teaching of children we have at the same time put them at the mercy of new and most terrible weapons of destruction. Men and women have a voice in the management of the world's affairs whether they use their voices or not, but little children have no voice. They can only share in complete bewilderment, the horrors of this age—heroes and martyrs in their childish ways, but always helpless and bewildered.

When I contemplate the mass misery of children in the world today I confess it far overtops in my own mind anything that soldiers suffer or even civilians. Civilians have, of course, suffered a great deal more than soldiers in this war, and this is true in every country. The civilians of China have suffered on a scale infinitely worse than soldiers have—the millions dead are unknown. It is roughly estimated that fifty million people have been driven out of their homes. Untold millions have died from disease and deprivation and starvation, and among them are millions of children. Children have suffered in Europe even though on a lesser scale, in England they have suffered not only from death but from loss of home and security, and in our own country I sometimes think it is only our children who have really suffered any shock from the war. That they do suffer can easily be seen from the news of their delinquencies and disturbances.

But it must be taken into consideration that even when there was no war there were great areas of the earth where the brunt of deprivation fell and continues to fall upon children. I think no one can travel in India even superficially without realizing that the degrading poverty which is almost universal in India falls most heavily upon India's children. More than one generation of India now has

grown up through a half-starved, anxious, insecure childhood, and that explains more in India today than is commonly known or than many people care to believe.

Lest we be too complacent, let us remember our own children. I was talking with Sigrid Undset only a few weeks ago and she told me she had just returned from a trip to Florida. Then she said, "I was shocked by the children I saw in the South. For misery and filth and lack of care they were worse than anything I have ever seen in Europe." I have seen some of those children, the children of sharecroppers and tenant farmers, both colored and white, and I will say I never saw anything more tragic even among the poor of China. In China it is not neglect when the children are miserable; it is famine or catastrophe. Here in our rich country it is neglect, if not the parents' neglect, then our neglect. We do not have famines and there is no catastrophe that we cannot control. But the condition of children in the poor South—or for that matter in sections of such places as Harlem—is due not to a catastrophe or to famine but to our indifference to their welfare.

And yet I confess that in these last months I have come to feel, rightly or wrongly, that there is something worse for all these little children than death. Worse than death will be to grow up in a world such as we now have, where war can fall at any moment upon innocent and ignorant peoples, and war that is more cruel with every succeeding outbreak. I see no particular use in saving children alive for recurrent war to catch them later. I see no use in the enormous waste of women's lives in going on even to produce children when they are to be at the mercy of inhumanity and greed for power and race hatreds. There is no reality in saving the children merely by giving them food and shelter. Somehow the saving has to go further than this. While we feed them and shelter them we have to do more for them; we have to develop them somehow into men and women who will not be at the mercy of such misery again. We have to save



not only their bodies, but their minds and their hearts, or else the bodies are better lost.

I confess I have come to the point of feeling that any relief, if not accompanied by more than physical relief, is not worth giving in these days. If a dollar given for food cannot carry more than a dollar's worth of food, I will put my dollar somewhere else. Something has to be done now not only to save the bodies of people from physical death but the minds from growing into the minds of those who will carry on the sort of world we have now—and those who silently endure are just as much those who carry on this sort of world as those who actively force it upon us. Rebecca West in that great book, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, in which she analyzed with such genius the causes for the hotbed of quarrels in the Balkans which have led to so many wars, makes it very clear that it is not only the Grey Falcons, the active aggressors, who are responsible for the barbarous times into which we have fallen, but the black lambs are just as responsible, the silent sufferers, the ones who endure meekly and by their very meekness invoke and encourage the aggressors.

Let us consider the world of children at this moment, the world we must save. In our country there are children growing up in circumstances that cannot produce a peaceful world. Think of the moment that faces every colored mother and father, the moment when their child has to know that he is doomed to eternal handicaps because of his color! There is not a single colored parent, unless he is imbecile, who does not dread that moment, who is not saddened by it and degraded by it. I know, for I have heard them talking about it, dreading it before it came, saddened after it had come. Imagine it for yourselves—how could you explain it to the child? How could you excuse yourself that you ever gave him birth? There are still other groups here—Jews, Poles, Hungarians, and others differing in various sections of our country where prejudice against so-called “foreigner” varies—but these can often escape at least by moving

away from the region of prejudice. But there is no escape for the colored child. He is born black if he has a drop of colored blood in him. Can these children be saved?

In India millions of little children are born subject. I do not think they suffer as acutely from it as our own colored children suffer here, for the Indian children live in a country where the white man, though his power is absolute, does not come into daily touch with the children. And yet any one who has lived at all in India knows how the shadow of subjection is over every one, and the children all know and live in that shadow. Can these children be saved?

You know as well as I do the children of Europe. They will never escape wholly from the influence of what they have endured in these last years. We have to reckon with a crippled generation; of course I do not mean only physical cripples. These children can never be wholly saved, yet I tell you quite frankly that I do not feel as sorry for them as I do for our own colored children, who are born under the shadow generation after generation, and cannot hope for escape even for their children. And yet somehow the children of Europe must be saved so far as they can be saved and not only for their own sakes, but because there have to be created in Europe peoples with whom the rest of us can live and work in some sort of cooperation.

What I am trying to say is that I feel that no relief is better than a partial relief which keeps only a child's body alive. It is better for the world if children die than if they are merely kept alive. You will say that children do recover if they are sheltered, fed, and made to feel secure again. And I say what is the use of their recovering at all if it is only to continue in a world where nothing real is yet being done to *save children?*

I should like to urge upon you, then, a vast enlargement of your work. I should like to see you consider that giving a child physical care is the merest beginning. I should like to see you take an active part in all groups of people who are working for the removal of race

discrimination, because children cannot be saved from the evil effects of race discrimination. War is only part of those effects—the peacetime ills are almost as severe and certainly more prolonged. And let me warn you that the next war will come out of race discrimination unless something is done soon to prevent it.

I should like to see you take part in all groups working for the elimination of war and the discovery and control of the warlike men who ride to power in times of social and economic disturbance. Race prejudice and war are the two greatest causes of suffering to children. I believe, if there were any way of measuring this qualitatively and quantitatively, we should find this is so.

I should like to see you taking an active part in all groups working for economic security for all people, for next to race prejudice in the world and next to war, poverty brings the greatest suffering upon the world's children.

And in these days everything has to be thought of in terms of the world. It is meaningless to feed France's children if we do not feed our own sharecroppers' children. It is useless to feed Europe's children or our own unless we feed the children of Asia. There will be no peace if part of the world's children grow up disabled by handicaps.

My friends, you see our work has only begun!

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*Pearl S. Buck* is an internationally known writer and lecturer.

## TODAY'S BEST INVESTMENT

Dorothy Moulton Mayer

The peoples of the world are facing another winter of war. The faint hopes that this autumn might see a real end in Europe are fading and we know that Mr. Churchill's prediction is, as heretofore, accurate and that 1943 will wear to its close without a decision. For America it will be the third winter, hard to face because the in-born optimism of this people made them believe fervently in what their hearts hoped might be true, bitter because more and more of their sons, brothers, and husbands must leave them, because the whole course of life is disturbed and jarred, the continuity of home life is threatened, and because the future is hard to read.

But for Europe this winter will be the fifth, and who can estimate the despair and foreboding with which whole peoples face it. Long ago they passed through the uncertainties which Americans face; for them only the worst is now sure. The home has almost ceased to exist in the occupied countries. Long ago the men went away, and those who are left know that no lock or key can save them from slavery if their masters decree it. Long ago mothers forgot the days when they could give their children the good nourishing food they need; they are used now to the cries of hunger and sickness, to the pinched faces, and the empty cupboard. For them the fading hope of an Allied victory this year must be an agony hardly to be borne. To wake each day thinking—will this be the day—will they come—will it begin today—and then in the evening to say sadly—no not today—what must that mean to the mothers of Europe!

This is a destructive war. All wars are that, of course, but this war is destructive in several novel ways, and the destruction brings to each of us moments of poignant and unexpected sadness. At first when the bombs began to fall in Britain and we knew that historic places and monuments had been destroyed and damaged, we were loud in our horror. Westminster Abbey, Canterbury, the Guild Hall,

Coventry—how the loss of each of them struck at our hearts. Then the tide turned and we were forced to become the destroyers, but some of us still suffered, for beauty and tradition have their own value everywhere.

So our troubled minds seek some consolation, some assurance that even in such wreckage something may be saved, and we say to ourselves, these monuments to the past are after all only the material and visible creations of the spirit of man, that spirit which in its slow and painful ascent throughout the ages has left these landmarks on its way. They may be destroyed, but what man has built he can build again. The Greek temple, the Gothic cathedral, the pre-Raphaelite fresco can be replaced, given the will and the vitality, the urge and impetus which come to a people when a new age is being born. That new world of which we now think and talk and toward which we are groping will evolve its own expression in the realm of art and culture.

But this war has unfortunately for these hopeful suppositions a destructive side which is peculiarly its own; not only does it take the youth of the nations, but it reaches far into the future and kills or maims the children on whom that future rests. The last war cut a wide swathe in Europe's young manhood, a whole generation, and in some countries two generations of youth either died in battle or survived to bear through life the marks of their ordeal. This war will take many more lives. Already we know that the losses in Germany and Russia alone amount to ten millions, and our own losses have hardly begun. But what of that as yet unmeasured loss, which will affect the life of Europe for the next twenty or thirty years at least, the loss of the children? We talk of rehabilitation, but all plans for rehabilitation rest, after the initial stages, upon the willingness and capacity of the people themselves to reconstruct their lives, and in allowing Europe's children either to die or to survive only as sickly and prostrated human beings we are frustrating our own desire to get the peoples of the occupied countries on their feet again; and

unless we want to support these peoples more or less in perpetuity it is high time we do something about it.

By a rigid enforcement of the blockade we have for four years starved the children of our friends and by a frightful irony the only children who will be even halfway capable of helping to build that new world we all look forward to so eagerly will be the children of our enemies. The idea underlying this policy was very clearly and succinctly stated by Lord Winterton in a Parliamentary debate on economic warfare on July 8 last. "My honorable friend behind me," he remarked of Reginald Sorenson, M. P., "said that in these matters, in the starvation of Europe's children, we have to have regard to humanity and not to the mere question of strategy. If that is so he should not be a supporter of the war because in war you have to have regard to strategy most of all. Otherwise you do not win."

That is a very clear but a very short view; it is the kind of view which ties in with the phrases "peace in our time" and "reason and wise self-interest," and many of us who have lived through the last thirty years are beginning to ask ourselves whether even the more obvious and material results of these policies are so advantageous. Certain it is that such a view does not take account of our long-term plans for Europe's future, a glance at present conditions in the occupied countries which are accessible to us by sea convinces us of that. In some areas in France it is estimated that 70 per cent of the children are tubercular or pretubercular, the birthrate is dropping and infant mortality rates are rising; the figures for rickets are not available but it is safe to assume that they are high. In the schools the teachers say the children are listless and apathetic; they do not remember from one day to another what they learn and they do not want to play. Any one who has observed the effect of daily milk or a midday meal on our own school children can well believe these reports on the half-starved children of France. In addition to this, bands of homeless children roam the country, children who were

lost during successive evacuations, nameless orphans, violent desperate waifs, living as best they can.

In Belgium the picture is even worse, for Belgium has been completely occupied since 1940. There are in Belgium 725 inhabitants to the square mile, a figure reached almost nowhere else in the world. Belgian agriculture therefore was never capable of satisfying the whole population and in normal times food, fertilizers, and fodder were very largely imported. When such imports were stopped, the people were bound to suffer even if the Germans had left them the whole of their home production. In the pamphlet, *Save the Children of Belgium* by Emile Cammaerts, it is stated that a third of the 2,300,000 children under eighteen in Belgium are tubercular and 80 per cent of the children in urban districts are threatened with the disease. The same may be said about Greece, with the addition that Greece was mainly a poor nonindustrial country where the people had a marginal subsistence level even at the best of times, and where food was largely imported, particularly wheat.

It is difficult for people in this country to picture to themselves the poverty in which these people lived, but our soldiers in Sicily are getting some idea of it. In some respects the reports from Greece are the most heart-rending of all, especially when we remember that these are the children of a brave people who resisted the invader with all the strength at their disposal, thus winning for the Allies time to recover from the blow dealt by Italy's stab in the back. Athens has reported that about 500,000 Greek children are in need of relief, they suffer from gastric ailments, scurvy, pellagra, and lack of clothing. The statistics given for the town of Laurium, in peace times a fairly thriving mining community, are enlightening; in 1939 the child population up to the age of four was 219 and there were only 11 deaths in that age group compared to 88 births. In 1941 there were 114 babies born, and 34 deaths; but by 1942 there were 51 deaths and only 31 babies born.

In spite of the fact that Greece has been receiving limited amounts of food in relief, conditions are still frightful. Thousands of people are too weak to get to the canteens; children who wake in the morning to find their mother beside them dead cannot move or call for help. Hunger clouds the people's minds; they have no clothes or warmth. Those who can get out haunt the garbage dumps; they are devoured by vermin and disease. Abandoned dead babies lie on the roads and gangs of children infest the gutters fighting for scraps with the dogs. Look at your own baby, mother who reads this, and imagine that you have nothing to give him when he cries, *nothing*, no rag to cover him with, and *no hope* of anything but death. No wonder that the spokesman for the Greek war relief association said recently "unless increased aid comes, this winter will see the end of the Greek people." What 600 years of occupation and tyranny failed to do the blockade will accomplish. And yet the experience of relief workers after the last war shows us that even now, if we act quickly, much can be done; it is extraordinary how soon children react if only they are taken in hand young enough. We can yet save Europe's babies if we will.

What are the objections to our doing so? They have been dealt with repeatedly and conclusively by such authorities as the American Red Cross, the spokesmen for the Belgian and Greek relief societies, and the Director of Relief in Europe for the Friends Service Committee speaking for relief in France.

The first objection is that the Germans would take the food. Both the American Red Cross and the American Friends Service Committee have assured the public over and over again that the Germans have never taken any of the food administered by them. The 19,000 tons of food going to Greece each month have not been touched by the Germans and they do not take the food sent to Allied prisoners of war in Germany. Even the Ministry of Economic Warfare in London admitted this.

Second, it is said the Germans would not take the food but would



take more food out of the country to which it is sent. The Friends' reply to this is that they required each French child completely to exhaust its ration card before receiving the supplementary food and the Nazis did not take any more food as a result of the feeding. This system could be followed in other countries.

Third, would not the Germans reduce the ration cards of the children receiving supplementary aid? The answer is they did not do this

Fourth, why should the American taxpayer be burdened with this expense? The American taxpayer is not asked for money, for Norway, Holland, Belgium, and France have funds of their own with which they could pay for the relief if they were permitted to use them. It need cost the American people *nothing*.

Fifth, how can the food be sent with the present shortage of shipping? Neutral countries are willing to lend their ships, or, for instance, the Belgian Government has ceded to the International Red Cross a ship which would sail under the Red Cross flag. This ship is the *Caritas*, reserved for the transport of food to prisoners of war or to the occupied countries. She lies at Philadelphia ready to make her first journey when the navicerts are granted.

Sixth, food is already short in the United States. How can we spare food for Europe? It is true that there is a shortage of certain foods but not of grain, nor of the powdered milk and vitamins which are all the Belgian Government asks for. If we have enough to feed the Italians who, until quite recently, were fighting against us, can we not spare some for those peoples who like the Greeks fought for us, or like the French, the Dutch, and Belgians who are ready to help us whenever we give the word?

Seventh, it is said that Americans could not work in occupied countries and we could not be sure of careful supervision. It is not certain that Quakers would not be allowed to work in these countries, just as they worked on both sides and fed 350,000 children during the Spanish Civil War, but, in any case, the International

Red Cross with a neutral personnel, which does it in Greece, is ready to take the responsibility for feeding and distributing food and clothing. This organization is, of course, above suspicion.

Finally, the reader may object that the American Government can do little in the matter. It is not they who prosecute the European blockade. They do not issue the navicerts and they hesitate to urge any course upon the British Government which the latter does not approve. But it appears that officials in Washington are becoming more and more disposed toward making a move in this direction. In England, too, there is and has been for some time a body of public opinion pressing for a change of policy, the evidence of which can be seen from the frequent questions in Parliament. This public opinion would be strengthened by a demonstration of American opinion.

So it seems that the objections to feeding the starving children of Europe, at least in those countries where we can reach them, vanish when the light of impartial inquiry is turned upon them. What, then, stands in the way?

If we could take the mass words to which we have become accustomed, "the refugees," "the wounded," "the evacuees," and see behind them the individual human beings, if we could let our imagination work and feel in our own bodies the hunger and cold and fear, then we might not listen so readily to the gospel of expediency which is preached to us day in and day out. And then we might ask those who have preached this gospel for four years if they can show us any tangible advantage resulting from the course they have pursued. Has it shortened the war? Will the half-starved inhabitants of the occupied countries be physically more or less ready to help us? Has Germany suffered from our refusal to send the children food; are her children going short because of it? These are questions to which as yet no answer has been given.

If we could see these children of whom I write, if we could hear their weak voices pleading for just a little to eat, we would, of

course, immediately rush off and give them everything we have; but my appeal is not to a merely emotional reaction but to something far more reasonable and fundamental. Europe will perish with its children, for on them and on them alone rests its real rehabilitation. By British, Belgian, Swedish, and Swiss authorities it is now believed that "unless some help is given promptly, the next generation will not recover from the disintegration to which it is subjected." Dr. Alfred Hess in his study of rickets said that the percentage of that disease in Germany during the last war did not seem to increase, but later rickets increased as the result of the war. For instance, in 1923 in the city of Dortmund 20 per cent of children between the ages of three to five could not walk. The headmasters of schools in England found that, when in the late twenties the directly postwar generation began to pass through their hands, they were confronted with the difficulties of a high proportion of nervous and emotionally disturbed youngsters, this in a country that suffered comparatively little from undernourishment or bombardment. What will be the aftermath of this war? A nation can only be born from within itself, and a people is only as strong as its children are. No amount of American planning or American aid will reconstruct Europe unless the vital spark is there; the test will come not in the first few years after the war but in fifteen years when a generation has reached manhood. It rests with us to say whether this generation shall have the distorted mind and the stunted and warped body which make it fair game for the false prophet and the fanatic leader, or whether it shall have the open mind and the healthy outlook which go with true democracy. Then the devastation of Europe will only offer a space in which the creative spirit can function freely. From the ruins fairer cities can rise, art and science can make them better homes for the children of the future. A generation which has been saved even in the midst of destruction by our generous denial of mere expediency will not forget, and will be all the more ready to collaborate with us in a peaceful world. The

mothers and children of the occupied countries are waiting with hope and agony for our answer to their cry for help. Can we, who have so much, who are still safe and warm and fed, refuse them? This winter may make all the difference to the future of Europe for years to come. Let us make no mistake; the future of our own children is bound up with it. For that reason, if for no other, we must act at once. Senators and Congressmen learn very quickly what the wishes of their constituents are when the letters begin to come in, and no people on earth can indicate their desires more clearly or rapidly than the people of this country. And the reward will not fail to come, in the words of Him who said "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

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*Lady Mayer* is a well-known figure in musical life. Her home in London was a meeting place for music lovers. She was a concert singer at home and on the Continent, and took part in the formation of the International Contemporary Music Movement, appearing at its inauguration at Salzburg. Since the war she and her husband have worked with the Save the Children Federation of America and in aid of the British Save the Children Fund.

## CHILD CARE IN CHINA

Lennig Sweet

Throughout the years Chinese children have been treated as adults who need training and discipline. Recreation has been considered entirely a waste of time with study or work as the only things worth while. In support of this viewpoint, a modern educator has pointed out that there is no juvenile costume in China—boys and girls, except for the very modern ones that one sees in the port cities, are dressed exactly like their parents. The whole emphasis of Chinese philosophy and manners is on the duty of children to parents; not the duty of parents to children. Filial piety is one of the shibboleths, and the honorific term for father is "The Family Severity" who is primarily a judge and disciplinarian. Discipline seems to develop in Chinese children an inner control and stability relatively unknown in the West. Family love and security in China come through the mother, whose honorific title corresponding to "Family Severity" for the father is "Family Kindness." Thus Chinese Christians often say it would be more appropriate to speak of the "motherhood of God" than of the "fatherhood of God."

Chinese parents love their children devotedly and they are just as interested in success for their offspring as are parents anywhere else in the world. One of China's most famous stories is that of the mother of Mencius who was left a widow while her only son was still a young boy. She was exceedingly poor and lived in a little hut near a cemetery. The child was so influenced by the mourners who continually came to weep at the graves that he, too, became sad and downcast; so his mother moved away. This time they lived next to a pig butcher. The little boy admired the butcher's skill—his ambition was to be a butcher when he grew up, so his mother moved again. This time she chose a cottage next to a school. Young Mencius looking through the window was much interested in the children reciting classics; he entered the school and became a philosopher second only to Confucius.

Children of the upper economic classes study and study hard. In prerepublic days they worked under tutors. During the nineteen twenties and thirties they went to modern schools and as soon as classes were dismissed hundreds of them either had private teachers of English or went to the Y.M.C.A. and missionary afternoon and evening schools which were so popular. Of course, the war with Japan changed all that. Girls have been trained to stay home and learn to keep house for future mothers-in-law and husbands.

Life in China for the majority of people has always been hard. Parents have not had money to send their children to school and the family has needed the income of all its members, so boys and girls of the rural class work on the farms as soon as they are big enough to pick up a tool.

In cases where the family is in great extremity, it is sometimes necessary for them to sell the daughters as slave girls who finally find their way to the port cities (although it is against present Chinese law) or to bind the boys over as apprentices to learn a trade. This latter was not always only because of economic pressure; if one knows a trade one can make a living.

The entire industrial organization of China was, and still is with a few exceptions, built around the apprentice system. Young boys are bound out for two to five years—the master provides food and clothing. Often the life of the apprentice is very hard; he works from dawn to dark and many times even later by the light of an oil lamp. He receives poor food and no wages. Very often he is not even allowed to leave the shop except during the three principal holidays, when he goes back to visit his parents unless the distance is too great. The masters usually came up through the system and consider what was good enough for them is good enough for the next generation. On the other hand, there is often a personal relation and a pride of workmanship which is lacking under the mass-production system of the West. Usually the apprentices become journeymen workers and in turn hope to own their own shop. In

certain industries, such as the rug factories in Tientsin and Peiping, the managers never expect to have very many journeymen but continually to feed in new groups of apprentices. The boys are often badly treated and very many times return home almost blinded by trachoma or otherwise broken physically, while a new crop of country lads take their place to go through the mill.

Of recent years, interest in child welfare has greatly increased. This is due to many causes which need not be enumerated here. The boy and girl scout movement, clubs at the Y M C A., the camping movement, athletics, institutions for children, etc., were commencing to have a real and important place in China at the time Japan struck. Recreation and self-expression had begun to take their place beside training. This was beginning to have its effect on the social structure. Nothing can illustrate the fast changing position of women and girls better than to point out that when the writer went to China in 1916 one of the heroines was a certain girl who lived some hundreds of years ago. The story has it that she was sitting by the bank of a stream when she was asked the way by a soldier who had become lost. Taking pity on him she pointed out the road, and then jumped into the river and committed suicide because she was ashamed to have so forgotten herself as to speak to a stranger. For this act she was held up to all as an example of maiden modesty and decorum. When I left China in 1934 the heroine, a "pin-up" girl to be seen on the walls of many a college dormitory, was a lovely creature in a one-piece bathing suit, known as "The Beautiful Fish." She had won the high dive at the Far Eastern Olympics, defeating both the Japanese and Filipino contestants!

By 1930 the boy scout movement was compulsory for each primary school. There were scores of orphanages and children's homes. The most famous of these was that established in "The Fragrant Mountain" west of Peiping, once the hunting park of the Manchu emperors. This orphanage was founded by former Premier Hsiung Hsi-ling who lived on the premises and gave direct oversight to the

work. Many of these orphanages, including that of Mr. Hsiung, were greatly influenced by the progressive ideas of John Dewey. It is probably fair to say that a much larger proportion of them were operating on the Project Method than was the case of similar institutions in the United States.

The municipalities, particularly the foreign group in Shanghai, also had begun to take an interest in children. Under the direction of Miss Eleanor Hinder, the Industrial and Social Division of the Municipal Council of the Shanghai International Settlement undertook to control child labor in factories, care for delinquents, and introduce other child-welfare measures. The National Child Welfare Association under the auspices of Dr. R. Y. Lo carried on considerable activity and had a large measure of Chinese support.

The position of children in the rural areas was not much changed except, perhaps, that more schools were introduced.

With the war, the problem of children became acute. As the great cities were bombed and as millions fled westward, parents were killed or became separated from their children until it has been estimated that there are over 2,000,000 "warphans" in China. These are not all children bereft of parents—many have been lost or abandoned, or are children of refugees who cannot support them. Mme. Chiang Kai-shek and other public-spirited people stepped into the breach and organized the National Child Refugee Association. With help from the Chinese Government which provides approximately 25 per cent of the support of this work and with aid from abroad, she now has some 25,000 orphans in 45 orphanages. Mme. Chiang has stated, however, that she has had 300,000 applicants. With costs rising, due to inflation, it is very difficult to continue even to maintain the work already established. In 1937 it cost \$20 per year to support one of Mme. Chiang's "warphans"; today it costs \$250. To administer institutions, when most of them have to be built from the ground up and there has been but a handful of trained leadership, has been no mean task. There are approximately



another 25,000 children in orphanages of the China Child Welfare Association, of the Catholic and Protestant Missions, and of independent groups entirely under Chinese auspices. There are also numerous orphanages and nurseries in the "guerrilla" territory in Northwest China. The China Yearbook for 1940-1941 states that "for the period under review" (which period is not stated) 159,835 children were cared for in institutions and that of this number 102,214 were in various governmental and public organizations, and 57,621 in those classified as "others."

One of the greatest problems which is at present facing those concerned with child care in China, and with which they will increasingly be confronted, is what to do with the orphanage children when they are old enough to "graduate." There is some attempt to teach them trades but resources have been so strained merely to provide food and shelter that comparatively little has been done. Free China is little advanced industrially; there is a danger that children too old to remain in orphanages will be apprenticed to small industries operating under the same primitive conditions as described above in the case of the prewar North China rug factories. At present those concerned realize the problem but have not yet found a way out. The Chinese Industrial Cooperatives are doing a good job in taking illiterate farm boys or refugee children and educating them in trade schools—but this is only a drop in the bucket as far as solving the fundamental problem is concerned.

With the expulsion of Japan from China, the problem of China's children may be greatly aggravated, because there is every expectation that Japan will not leave the country without committing great devastation. This may not be widespread in rural areas, but key centers and many of the great cities may be left a shambles presenting even greater problems than did Naples. Plans should be established for taking care of at least two or three hundred thousand orphans for a limited period.

Preparations should be made for the greatly augmented number

of children who must be cared for. It is also important that this work be handled correctly. In the confusion and devastation which the Japanese are bound to create, thousands of children will become lost and separated from their parents. It is particularly important that all such children, together with those whose parents have been killed, be placed in separate camps and that skilled workers immediately interview them in an attempt to obtain pertinent facts concerning their families and relatives. City workers in China almost invariably have family roots in the country and it should be possible to place thousands of children with their relatives provided information is obtained before too long a time elapses. In Shanghai experience showed that even among a "hard core" of refugees who had been in camps for two years numbers of children could be returned to their families on the basis of information gathered by skillful questioning. The percentage will, of course, be immensely greater if this work is done immediately after separation occurs. Preparations must also be made to give the children proper diet and recreation must be so organized that the terrible experiences which they have undergone may be forgotten to the largest possible extent and the resulting nervous strain lessened.

Orphanages and institutions should only be employed as a last resort. The present practice of sending to institutions children whose parents cannot support them would seem to be unwise. The presumption is that in most cases money would be saved and a better job done by giving a subsidy for care in one's own home. This has been found to be the preferred practice in the United States to such an extent that the social security laws will only give grants on behalf of children if they are living in the home of a parent or a close relative.

All this will present a problem too great for private agencies; it is also a question as to whether the Chinese Government, with problems which it may feel to be more important, can provide the facilities to handle it. This is a major problem to be considered by the

United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. There is undoubtedly in China today the machinery that could be used by United Nations for expanding the service to children. This could not be done, however, without recruiting and training hundreds of persons to administer and serve in the child-care agencies which must be brought into being. If the problem is to be met when the time comes, this training program should be got under way immediately.

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## PROBLEMS OF MEXICAN CHILDREN IN THE SOUTHWEST

Daniel Russell

Mexicans are usually looked upon as a foreign element in our national population. However, many of the Mexicans of the Southwest look upon the other white people who have come in as foreign intruders. In a way, these Mexicans are right because the Mexicans were here long before the settlers from the eastern United States came. Many of them can trace their Texas ancestry back much further than any of the other white settlers can. Along the Rio Grande before the turn of this century many of the Mexicans on this side of the border looked upon themselves as citizens of Mexico. The great development that has come with this country, especially in the magic Rio Grande Valley, has left these Spanish-speaking citizens more or less bewildered. Many of them feel that their land and their country have been usurped from them.

It is unfair to speak of the Mexicans as one class as we are prone to do because there are various stratifications of classes even among the Mexicans. The upper Spanish-speaking class of the Southwest maintains, for the most part, as high a standard of living as any of our other citizens, living in attractive homes, educating their children, traveling abroad, etc. However, the great bulk of the Spanish-speaking element of the Southwest is of the lowest peon class of Mexicans. These Mexicans are not a pure strain, there being a mixture of Spanish, Indian, and other racial elements. The majority of the racial strain perhaps are Indians. These Mexicans live, for the most part, in the lowest standard of living, their settlements being across the railroad track, their homes being one- and two-room shacks, some built of lumber, some of adobe, some of tule, some of scrap and old tin cans picked up from junk yards. The majority of the homes have dirt floors and many of them have outdoor kitchens.

Sanitation is poor or lacking altogether. Less than ten per cent of the houses have any modern conveniences. Naturally, the infant mortality rate is high among the children; diseases are rampant among children and adults, especially tuberculosis which is higher than in any group, even the Negro group.

The average Mexican family is larger than the average American family. An investigation of 200 families of Mexican school children of La Feria, Texas, showed the average size to be approximately 6.1 persons.

Many orphans and needy children are taken into Mexican homes. A man who is unable to rear his children will often let some more successful relative take care of them. But not all of the foundlings taken into homes are children belonging to relatives. They may have belonged to some friend or even a stranger. These children are usually treated as if they were sons and daughters. Very often a man who has a large family will give some relative who has no children one of his children for rearing.

Despite the poverty of the Mexican hovels it is surprising to learn that in the old Mexican settlements about one half of the Mexicans own their homes or hovels, there being a keen sense of possession of land and property in this underprivileged group. Many of the Mexicans are nomadic, constituting about 85 per cent of transient agricultural labor of the Southwest, roaming over the State gathering citrus, harvesting spinach, onions, cotton, etc. Naturally, there is little home life for these people and little opportunity of education for their children. Although these people roam around, most all of them have some particular locality and house they call their home.

Statistics from the towns with large Mexican population show a very high delinquency rate among the Mexican youth. When one studies statistics and the home environment of the Mexican youth, however, one cannot help but wonder why the delinquency rate is

not higher. Mexican youth are coming in for their increase in delinquency during the war period but from the meager figures available perhaps not to the extent of the other white youth.

The Mexican voter has too often been a mere tool of American and Mexican politicians. There are many cases where practically the entire Mexican vote of a county is voted the same way. A few years ago all the voters of a border county voted for a certain candidate for governor in the first primary, and for another candidate in the second primary. The reason for the change was the political boss of the county changed his mind between the primaries, and the voters of the county, which is composed mainly of Mexicans, voted as the boss desired.

One of the leading Valley counties was controlled for a number of years by a political boss. Practically the entire Mexican voters of the county voted as this man directed. The party in opposition to this political leader did not come into power until they finally managed to swing a large percentage of the Mexican vote in their favor.

If the education of the Mexican children is considered, many problems of major proportion are encountered. First, there is a language difficulty with many of them; second, in many places there is antagonism of white children toward the Mexican children; third, there is lack of interest on the part of a certain number of Mexicans; fourth, there is lethargy on the part of most local communities toward the Mexican children; and, fifth, there is a difficulty of educating the nomadic Mexican children. Many local communities where these children live for a time to pick cotton want these children on their scholastic rolls so they can get the State educational apportionment for the children but, needless to say, little or no education is provided for them. Actually, many communities with a large Mexican population have found it wise pedagogy to provide separate schools through the third to fifth grade for the Spanish-speaking children. This forces a burden upon the community which is al-

ready supporting a dual educational system for Negro and white children.

When provisions for Mexican children are compared with those for American children a great variety of conditions is found. In many cases there is obvious discrimination against Mexican children, often extreme discrimination. In some communities, however, there is an approach to equality between the two. The worst educational conditions are found in the rural schools, especially in areas where there is not a large Mexican population. The children who live in the country, regardless of race in the Southwest, are handicapped educationally speaking. The Mexicans are even more handicapped. It is known that in some small communities Mexican children have been chased away from school. In some other communities Mexican parents have been told if they sent their children to school they would lose their jobs or lease for their farm. Naturally, children of such parents would not attend school. Sometimes these Mexican children attend class in old, dilapidated, abandoned church or other vacant buildings. Sometimes the Mexican schools act as a training or proving ground for teachers in white schools. Generally, the teachers are inferior and have inferior education, although some communities make an attempt to give as good instruction to Mexican children as to the others. Mexican children when given proper encouragement in school and home often make outstanding scholastic records. Valedictorians of senior high schools along the Mexican border are often boys or girls of Mexican extraction. However, scholastic achievement of Mexican children as a class does not compare favorably with achievement of white children. For this, of course, there are obvious reasons. Mexican children in school are said to have the following traits stronger than the other white children:

1. Imitativeness
2. Conservatism

3. Respect of authority
4. Appreciation of friendship
5. Love of music
6. Strength of home ties
7. Skill with finger work
8. Adherence to custom
9. Sensitiveness to praise or blame
10. Ignorance and superstition
11. Respect for the church
12. Apathy
13. A disparity between words and deeds
14. Honesty and dignity

Mexican children are fond of celebrations and revel in the Mexican holiday fiestas. Some of them make good records on athletic teams of local high schools but most of them do not develop an interest in a physical-education program such as they should. Occasionally, parents will object to their children playing because they say they send them to school to study and not to play.

Following is listed a group of favorable traits for the education of Mexican children by a group of teachers of these children in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas:

1. Specially trained teachers for teaching Mexican children
2. Keen interest in learning
3. Desire for display of talents and abilities in the school
4. Gradual growth of community interests. The Americans of the community are beginning to take more interest in the education of Mexican children
5. Schoolwork less depressing than working at manual labor
6. Teacher worship
7. Fewer diversions for Mexican children than for other whites
8. A desire to rival other whites
9. Desire for play and association with a large group of children
10. Intelligence—especially among pupils in grades above the primary
11. Average pupils in respective grades



Likewise, these teachers listed the following unfavorable traits for the education of Mexican children:

1. Lack of knowledge of the English language
2. Irregular attendance—failure to enforce the compulsory attendance law
3. Lack of cultural background—uneducated parents, lack of encouragement, poor reading materials, poor living conditions
4. Financial conditions—necessity of work to contribute to support of family
5. Lack of understanding between home and school
6. Lack of incentive to go ahead with their education
7. Teachers who do not always understand the pupils
8. Unsuitability of our measuring instruments—pupils are often not understood
9. Sometimes a lack of interest on the part of the English-speaking members of the community
10. Frequent moving—often to follow the harvesting of crops
11. Poorly trained teachers

Some of the greatest of the Southwest's cultural attractions are due to Mexicans, who for generations have lived according to their own customs, told their folklore around humble doorways, strummed guitars, and danced in the moonlight. They have left such an impression on the life of the Southwest that many students and scholars are making a study of their customs and folklore.

One of the most characteristic features of Mexican life in the Southwest is the folk dance. Many of these dances are characteristic of old Spain, and are frequently borrowed by the American stage. The Mexican child learns them naturally and without conscious effort. Many Mexican families can produce from its effects costumes and accessories for the folk dances. It is among the humble Mexican peons that folklore, folk song, and folk dances, as well as traditions and superstitions, are preserved. Wealthy Mexicans of education and culture in general are scarcely to be distinguished

from other cosmopolitans. It is from the average Mexican workers that come the lithe-figured men with their big hats, and highly colored work clothes, who step aside from their work and retell tales that have been handed down from father to son since the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards.

In some respect the Mexican might be thought of as a forgotten man in the Southwest. The Mexican has complained little to those of influence, always accepting status quo, even though that might be a lower standard for him than for any other group in his community. Mexicans have had a tendency in some of the river delta sections of Texas to crowd out the old-established Negro farm tenant and farm laborer because in some instances he is willing to accept a lower standard without grumbling. More attention is being focused today because the Mexican situation has developed a keen interest in the good neighbor policy toward the Latin American peoples brought about because of the war crisis. Special committees are being appointed to work for better relations of the two races and a great many promises are being made. We hope some of these promises toward developing a better standard for Mexican people will be kept.

With the growing development in the Southwest, especially in industry developing, the Mexican will be needed as much after the war as he is during the war. Anything done to educate him, to make him more capable, healthy, and alert will pay dividends in regional and national welfare.

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## RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SCHOOL FOR UNDERPRIVILEGED CHILDREN

Walter H. Gaumnitz

With the children of Greece, Poland, China, and other lands temporarily held in the chains of dictators, dying en masse from starvation and other elemental wants, it is a bit difficult at this time to think seriously about the underprivileged children in our own land. But there *are* underprivileged groups in these United States, and the cause of their status is not temporary. The enormous social and economic losses, both present and future, entailed in our failure to deal effectively with many of the underlying causes, are so well known that I would be carrying "coals to Newcastle" were I to elaborate the point. I wish, therefore, only to say that while the underprivileged children in our midst lack the drama of the war orphan and the "wild children" of the battle-torn areas, the fact that there are such underprivileged children in this "land of plenty" should be a very serious challenge to any group of social workers concerned with the building of a better world. Moreover, unless we effect a greater equality of opportunity for our own large groups of underprivileged children, we cannot honestly claim to have achieved a democracy, much less teach democracy to the rest of the world.

The subject is obviously a very large one. Since I cannot consider comprehensively the problems involved in the responsibility of the schools for underprivileged children, I shall attempt to direct your thought to a specific group of such children, namely, to those of the southern mountains. The social and economic conditions of rural peoples generally have long been below par as compared with urban life in general, and, in my opinion, we are not progressing toward parity. Indeed, in many respects the disparity is growing. But in rural communities, as in our big cities, there are slum areas

and marginal groups. There are the tenant farmers, the rural migratory laborers, the racial minorities—to mention only a few.

A very important underprivileged area is that typified by the southern mountains. We have heard a great deal about this section. But have we carefully analyzed the causes for the social and economic conditions obtaining there? And, more important, have we a plan of rehabilitation for this area? What responsibility does each of the social services—public education, for example—have for carrying such a plan into effect?

Let us examine this mountain area to see if we can ascertain why children are underprivileged. Careful investigations reveal that the racial stocks which originally inhabited this portion of rural America were of the best—consisting chiefly of northern Europeans. Indeed, it is well known that there are more evidences of Elizabethan England and of our pioneer life preserved in these mountains than anywhere else in this land. Climatic conditions also are reasonably favorable in this section of the United States. Originally, the people living in these mountains had a good life, similar in all respects to that pioneer life elsewhere in the Colonies and, later, in the States and territories. Only the comparatively rich bottom and plateau lands were farmed. The products of the soil were abundantly supplemented through the exploitation of forest and stream. But certain important factors soon combined to cause these areas to fall behind, both economically and socially. For the most part, the southern mountain counties form parts of the southern States which lost the war of secession, and many handicaps followed in the train of that event in our history. Since the area was somewhat inaccessible, travel in or out of these mountains was limited. In consequence, as the children married they pressed farther up the “hollows,” and tried to make a living on soil which was less and less fertile. Farming the hillsides, denuding the forests, and many other factors soon combined to make wide areas incapable of producing a livelihood. Because of the prevailing policy of leaving to the local

community responsibility for such social services as the school, the church, and even the government and the courts, it is not surprising that these communities not only became poorer and poorer, but more and more provincial. Soon, the highlander developed characteristics different from those of his cousins in the lowlands and the cities. He knew his mountains, and he preferred them. There, he had been "getting by," and he hoped to continue to do so. To him, areas, activities, and peoples outside the mountains were strange and fraught with insecurity.

What now are the problems of this underprivileged group, and what can or should the schools do about them? First, I see no solution without facing the basic problem of marginal farming lands. There seems to be no question but that a large proportion of the families inhabiting this region of the United States are trying to make a living on soil which under modern types of industrial and competitive farming is incapable of producing a living for the family or for the support of the social services needed for the good life. Such land will gradually have to be put to forests and similar types of production. This problem transcends the scope of the schools, but the schools can greatly contribute toward its solution. They must assume the responsibility for so guiding and conditioning youth that more of them can and will seek more favorable employment and other productive opportunities elsewhere; they must encourage and guide adults in studying their economic conditions and in deciding what can be done about them. They must help both groups to understand that steep hillsides, however picturesque, cannot produce incomes adequate to support an acceptable standard of living, including such social services as public education.

The second basic problem is the improvement of the life among those groups whose lands will, under favorable farming practices, support a reasonable standard of living. It is in connection with this problem that the schools must assume a major responsibility. It is a well-established fact that the schools serving underprivileged com-

munities are for the most part failing in this responsibility. This failure can be charged to many factors, not the least of which is the old and timeworn policy of leaving the support and management of the schools almost wholly to the local communities. This policy erroneously assumes that in each community there are sufficient social leadership and funds to develop a program of education suited to the needs of its inhabitants. This policy operated fairly well in a simple, pioneer society. It now operates to the great disadvantage of the children living in areas like the southern mountains.

All the States in which the southern mountains are located have in recent years recognized the necessity of providing more of the school funds from State sources. North Carolina now provides 71 per cent of the school support from State funds, and 21 per cent more from county funds. West Virginia, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina provide between 50 and 60 per cent from the State, with varying proportions coming from the counties. The remaining States (Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee) provide from 30 to 40 per cent from State sources. But despite the progress made by these States as concerns increases in State support, many schools of these States are very poorly supported when compared with those of other States. Indeed, students ranking the States educationally almost invariably place these southern States in the lowest quartile. The reason for the poor educational showing made by these States is that for the most part they are in the lowest quartile in taxpaying ability. The productive wealth is simply not there, or other factors operate which lower income production. One of the remedies widely advanced for overcoming this underlying difficulty is Federal aid for schools or similar far-reaching changes in our basic fiscal policies.

But the job of the social worker is to find ways and means of serving childhood despite the differences in the local or State resources. *The persistent grip of certain handicapping policies does not excuse*

social workers from doing what they can to overcome the deficiencies they find in society. They must deal with immediate problems while they work for the desired change in basic policy. Children have a way of growing up. Whatever is to be done to fit them for life cannot be allowed to wait while governmental policy is perfected. Moreover, the adequacy of the funds available or not available is by no means the sole determiner of the quality of education provided. Indeed, there is considerable doubt that adequacy of funds is the major factor. Personally, I feel that vision and leadership are relatively more important. True, it may be difficult to get such vision and leadership in a poverty-stricken, inbred provincial community; but in finding and developing such vision and leadership lies the great challenge to social agencies, both governmental and private.

I feel that one of the greatest needs of underprivileged children is educators who understand life as it is in such communities, and who can and will intimately relate the educational content and process with the problems of life as they find them. I feel that it is of the greatest importance that we find and develop teachers and school heads who either are native to, or have otherwise come to know and understand, the social and economic problems of the communities they will later serve. To do this would mean that we should devote much more effort than we have in the past to the recruitment, selection, and training of those who will man the schools of our problem areas. I recognize, of course, that to accomplish such a change in a wholesale way would also involve changes in established public policy. But progress can be made in this direction even if only here and there we can find and develop for the schools leaders who become forward-looking social engineers, rather than persons content with the status quo. It is here that private schools and private social agencies can do much. While doing what they can to advance social policy, they can find potential leadership, put it through a program of training that will work toward the desired objectives,

found and maintain centers where such leadership can be tried out and demonstrated, and then use such centers as fulcra through which to raise the general practice.

To recruit, select, and train such leadership, we will certainly need high schools and colleges accessible to the youth whose programs of training are to be rooted in the underprivileged area and devoted to its rise and to the solving of its problems. I believe that the greatest sources of hope are those institutions within these mountains which are organized on a basis of self-help, both for their own maintenance and the maintenance and training of their pupils. The provision for and the judicious use of scholarships for worthy students should, no doubt, be much more widely used. But such scholarships should not, in my opinion, displace self-help programs.

There is much to be done in providing equality of educational opportunity for such an underprivileged group as the southern highlanders. But in working for such equality it is very important that we do not mistake uniformity for equality. I have already suggested that schools must be identified with the problems peculiar to the communities served. If this is to be done, much of the content and emphasis of education must vary with the community. To be sure, the basic objectives of education—proficiency in the tools of learning, citizenship training, worthy home membership, ethical character—must continuously be sought in all communities, but the achievement of these objectives must be sought through the solution of the local problems and the use of the educative resources of the community in which the school operates.

It is obvious that education in terms of immediate community life is still largely an ideal rather than a reality. Public education is by nature conservative. Any public service must set up standards of administration and these standards so tend to fix and "freeze" both practice and content that close relationship with changing life is soon lost. It is at this point that private agencies can render impor-



tant services, not only in helping to overcome the physical shortcomings of education, but by studying the processes and content of education. The private agencies must determine wherein the schools fail in what they try to do and the ways in which they try to do it, but, more important, they must develop programs of improvement and then labor for the acceptance of such programs by the public agencies. The churches, private philanthropy, and such agencies as the Save the Children Federation have already rendered yeoman service in supplementing the work of the public schools in meeting the needs of underprivileged children in the southern mountains. Some progress has also been made in demonstrating how the schools can more intimately identify themselves with life in a local community. But much more could and should be done along these lines.

Since equal opportunity for all citizens is the very foundation of democratic faith, it is imperative that every measure possible be taken to ensure equality of educational opportunity to all children. There can be no true democracy as long as there continue to be in the United States large groups of underprivileged children, and leaders refuse to become seriously disturbed over the fact. It is the responsibility of society to equalize the physical aspects of the schools. But it is not enough to equalize per capita expenditures, to equalize teachers' salaries, to equalize school terms, to equalize school housing and equipment. True equality of educational opportunity can come only when the salaries provided procure teachers of vision and devotion to childhood, when the school terms are adjusted to the needs and services required by given communities, and when the buildings and the programs of the schools are geared to and built around the functional needs of specific groups of children.

## THE NEGRO CHILD IN THE WORLD CHAOS

Ambrose Caliver

As we prosecute the war toward a successful conclusion and bend every effort toward the common and single aim of victory, there is only one other consideration that should be allowed to attract our attention for the slightest moment and that is the welfare of our children. And it is well that we give consideration to this important subject, for it is mainly for them—their present protection and their future well-being—that the war is being fought.

While it is with the future well-being of Negro children that this paper is particularly concerned, it is recognized that it is as impossible to separate the future good of one group of children from that of all children as it is to separate the future peace of one nation from that of all other nations. Attention, therefore, is called to the problems of Negro children, not because they are different in kind from the problems of other children, but because of their seriousness and the difficulties of their solution. The problems of the Negro child are relatively more serious than those of children of the majority group because of the historical background out of which the problems grew and the intensified effect which they are having on the Negro child. They are more difficult of solution because of the caste society in which Negroes are born and of the factor of race which always must be added to the regular difficulties encountered in the solution of problems of other children. In other words, because of the underprivileged condition of Negroes, the needs of their children are greater both in peacetime and in wartime. And these needs increase in number, variety, and importance in proportion to our adherence to the democratic principles and objectives for which the war is being fought and our determination to apply them in lifting Negroes out of the status of second-class citizenship.

The needs of Negro children, like those of other children, are of five general kinds: physical, emotional, intellectual, social, and spiritual; and while they have not changed in wartime, many of

the agencies supplying the needs have been more or less affected by the war. Important among these agencies are: the home, the school, the community, and the church. In order, therefore, to understand the special needs of Negro children and their problems we must study the facilities which these agencies have provided or failed to provide for their growth and development. The facilities these agencies offered Negro children in the past very definitely conditioned their needs and colored their problems; and what they offer in the future will determine the extent to which they will be prepared to play their full role as adults in the reconstruction of our social order. These four agencies, therefore, are trustees of the greatest investment of ours or any generation—the children—and our interest in them should be mainly in how they help children to live, to grow, to think, to love, to aspire, and to be well and happy.

Hence, our central purpose here is to call attention to the need of helping Negro children become and remain adjusted and happy in a situation that is unwholesome and not conducive to the fulfillment of their needs. At the same time we need to help them to appreciate the ever changing nature of this situation for the better, and to develop a positive and optimistic outlook and dynamic purpose in relating themselves to this orderly social evolution.

Limited space permits only of a brief treatment of two of the agencies named—the home and the school.

### The Negro Home

The American home is the nation's first line of defense in war-time, and the first transmitter of our culture in peacetime. It is truly the basis of our civilization. It is here that the child's first needs are supplied and he learns his first lessons about living, growing, thinking, working, loving, and aspiring. It is here the foundation is laid that will largely determine his well-being and happiness.

The number of Negro homes which provide the necessary conditions for such development is gradually increasing. Their improved economic status and their educational advancement have made pos-

sible an improvement of the homes of thousands of their numbers. However, the masses of the thirteen million Negroes are still ill-housed, ill-clothed, and ill-fed. Their homes are substandard and in consequence their children are subnormal.

*Houses in which Negroes live.* In describing the physical surrounding of the homes of a majority of Negroes it is perhaps sufficient to say that both in urban and rural areas they are characterized by conditions similar to those found in slums. As a rule, the houses are dilapidated firetraps, lacking in modern conveniences, and are overcrowded. Often there are no paved streets and lights, and where there are they are frequently neglected; sanitary and other public services are below par. While the rents in these localities are low, they are relatively higher in proportion to the income of the Negro occupants than the rents paid by white persons with similar income. Conditions over which they have no control often require Negroes of a higher status to remain in these sections; for when they attempt to improve their conditions they are prevented from doing so because of restrictive clauses and covenants on the part of white owners and real-estate dealers.

The war housing program has provided decent living quarters for hundreds of Negro families, but a beginning has not yet been made in solving this problem.

While houses are important, they do not make homes. As important, therefore, as are the houses in which Negroes live, we are more concerned with the family unit.

*The Negro family.* The Negro family unit has always been in a precarious condition since the beginning of slavery. This institution, in a majority of cases, resulted in a deliberate disorganization of the Negro family which consequently became an easy prey to those influences of war that always have a deleterious effect, even on the normal family. Keeping the family ties intact is important for a group that experiences many disadvantages not experienced by other groups. This is especially so in times of crises; but because of the Negro's background and his low educational status, his fam-

ily is particularly vulnerable to the unstabilizing effects of broken homes, divorces, laxity in sex relations, and illegitimacy. Frequently mothers are working away from home; fathers and older brothers are in the armed services; and older sisters are in war industries or some other activity; all this adds up to: lack of supervision, lack of necessary discipline, lack of proper care of younger children, and an increasing number of "door-key children."

Although, in general, the war has improved certain conditions in the Negro family, child labor is still a serious problem. There are many cases where certain conditions indicated above have placed too heavy a burden on the very young child in caring for younger children and sick persons, or performing other tasks in the home which taxes their physical strength and nervous energy. Often there is little time for play or study, and when there is, in all too many cases, because of the crowded condition of the home or the irregular schedules of work and sleep, the home does not provide opportunity to do so. Moreover, in spite of the apparently improved economic status of Negro families, there are too many that lack adequate heat and proper diet for children, such as milk, cheese, butter, vegetables, and fruit. Less variety of food at higher prices (both in money and point value) requires a higher income and a greater amount of intelligence and self-discipline in order to assure a proper diet than the average Negro family possesses.

These family deficiencies, in addition to the physical deficiencies of the home mentioned above, bring about an unwholesome atmosphere which has a particularly bad influence on the growing child.

#### Schools for Negroes

Great progress has been made in the education of Negroes during the past quarter of a century. This progress is shown in many ways, but particularly in number and quality of schools, number and preparation of teachers, and in the tremendous increase in enrollment. Evidences of educational progress of Negroes are indicated also by the decrease in illiteracy and the general improvement in

their social and economic status. Their educational progress is all the more impressive when it is remembered that during slavery all the southern States and some of the northern States had laws forbidding the instruction of slaves and freedmen, and that after emancipation educational provisions for Negroes were greatly delayed. In spite of the progress that has been made there is still much that needs to be done before there is equality of educational opportunity for this minority group.

There are many deficiencies in the education of this group which also exist, although to a far less degree, in the education of the majority group. However, such deficiencies are particularly distressing to Negroes, because of their social, cultural, and economic backgrounds and of the educational distance they had to travel.

Their schools in general are characterized by inaccessibility, bad housing, lack of facilities, short terms, overcrowded classes, limited equipment and program, inadequate staffs which are poorly prepared and underpaid, lack of health services and health instruction, and lack of professional spirit and outlook. Certain services which are beginning to be introduced into schools for the majority group are almost entirely lacking in Negro schools, such as child-guidance clinics and adult-education programs. Where any of these items of educational services are provided for Negroes they are greatly inferior to those for white persons. This inferiority of service has far-reaching effects in terms of child development, some of which are listed below after the indicated deficiency:

1. Inaccessibility of schools—a large proportion of young children in rural areas live excessive distances from schools, resulting in poor attendance.
2. Bad housing and lack of facilities—discomfort, poor posture, eye strain, bad health habits, disease, and lack of appreciation of beauty and of wholesome surroundings.
3. Short terms—less exposure to purposeful educational experiences during the most plastic years of the child's life.
4. Overcrowded classes—lack of personal attention to individual needs.

5. Limited equipment and program—limited educative experiences, narrow concepts, and inadequate sense of values, particularly with respect to one's own personality, work, play, and human relations.
6. Inadequate, poorly prepared, and underpaid staff—irritable and overworked teachers, feeling a sense of unfairness and discrimination, who often develop compensatory behavior toward children resulting in unfair, authoritarian attitudes and a denial of the dignity and sacredness of personality.
7. Inadequate health services and health instruction—lack of doctors, nurses, clinics, and medical supplies resulting in lack of health habits, and high morbidity and mortality rates.
8. Lack of professional spirit and outlook—denial of proper respect to principals and teachers from superintendents and supervisors, and dictatorial methods on part of principals and teachers resulting in fear, suspicion, indifference, and lack of interest.
9. Absence of child-guidance clinics—lack of understanding of child nature and of individual needs, and lack of remedial measures and guidance.
10. Absence of adult-education programs—lack of understanding of parents' problems and lack of effort to improve the culture into which the child goes and better to relate the schoolwork to that culture.

A little reflection will indicate the special relation of each of these items to and their implications for Negro children, especially when viewed in terms of the Negro's minority group status. One example with respect to the school's program will perhaps help to make this clear. A majority of the textbooks which Negro children use have very little about Negroes of a commendatory nature and nothing about their contributions to the discovery and exploration of the continent; little about their participation in the development of American culture and their contributions to the culture of other nations throughout the world, and there are few pictures of Negroes except those that are derogatory. The Negro teachers have known little more about their race than the children because it was only recently that such material has been included in their college courses and even now, except in a few instances, the number of such courses is limited and not required. Where these teachers

have had information about the history of their race and have been interested in imparting it to the children, it has not always been easy to do so because of the rigidity of the program. Great impetus has been given to a study of this subject, however, during the present war emergency, and it is believed that because of the current discussions of the relation of minority groups to the war and the peace such material *will be more widely and systematically used in Negro schools as well as in white schools.*

In view of the background of Negroes and their past home condition and school facilities, it is absolutely essential that their children be infused with a proper and wholesome self-esteem, through such study as indicated above, if they are to develop normal personalities and play their part as world citizens of the future.

The war must be won, and teachers like every one else must do whatever is necessary to contribute to that victory. It is not inappropriate, however, to ask ourselves respecting each project undertaken, "Has it been planned effectively and organized properly in order to make its execution contribute the most to the war effort and at the same time detract the least from the educative program? Is the greatest amount of educational value being derived from the project itself as a supplement to the regular educational processes?" It has been demonstrated that the fundamental educational processes can be mastered in much less time than has been devoted to them in the past. Perhaps the extra time required for war activities will force those who have been reluctant to adopt the quicker procedures in achieving the regular objectives to do so now. There is one thing certain, Negro children should not continue to be handicapped through inferior achievement as a result of educational deficiencies.

The extent of such handicaps is indicated by the rejection statistics of the Selective Service System. For example, Negroes represented 11 per cent of the first million draftees, but they represented 60 per cent of those rejected on account of a lack of functional literacy. After changing the system of examining, their rate of rejection for this cause is still 5 to 6 times greater than that of white



selectees. Recently a study was made in six States of the ratios of rejection rates between Negro and white draftees. These rates were compared with the ratios between Negro and white current expense per pupil in average daily attendance in the same six States. An almost perfect correlation was found to exist between the two ratios in each of the States. That is to say, where the current expense per Negro pupil was low in comparison with the expense per white pupil the percentage of rejections of Negro draftees was high in comparison with that of white draftees. This finding, together with the other educational deficiencies pointed out, has a significant lesson for all who are willing to read it with reference to the needs of Negro children and the facilities provided to meet those needs.

The school deficiencies to which Negro children are subjected take their daily toll in a thousand different ways, among them: excessive number who are overage, retardation, poor attendance, lack of reading readiness and intellectual curiosity, lack of sustained interest, lowered ambition, inferior achievement, failure, and elimination. Add to these the deficiencies of the Negro home, plus those of the community and church—not discussed here—and we can begin to appreciate some of the personality defects of an excessive number of Negro children, such as: lack of self-direction, "sense of belonging," feeling of frustration, warped personalities, etc

The problems here indicated are accentuated greatly by the poverty and occupational difficulties of Negroes and by other discriminations which they constantly undergo. To the extent that we continue to be indifferent and complacent about them we imperil the war effort and weaken the possibilities of a lasting peace.

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## THE MOUNTAIN WORK OF THE SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION

Frank C. Foster

"To assist in the relief and care of the health, education and social welfare, primarily, of the children of the United States and other lands." In seeking to follow this statement of purpose, the Save the Children Federation has sought "to assist" in those areas where need is most conspicuous and where the resources and facilities of the organization qualified the agency to serve. The following observations are based on the nature of the need, character of service, and possible developments.

Southern mountain needs have been so widely publicized that little need be said for the opening of S.C.F. services in the region of "many children—few dollars," as a caption on Works's and Lesser's study of *Rural America Today*<sup>1</sup> describes it. As they point out (p. 17):

In the Southeast farmers must care for 13.43 percent of the nation's children on 2.21 percent of the national income. In contrast, the non-farming population of the Northeast, with only twice as many children, has 42 percent of the national income.

The President's Report on Economic Conditions of the South by his National Emergency Council describes this burden of support as follows (p. 17):

Its excess of birth over deaths is 100 per thousand as compared with the national average of 7 per thousand . . . of the 108,600,000 native born persons in the country in 1930, 28,700,000 were born in the Southeast, all but 4,600,000 in rural districts. These rural districts have exported one-fourth of their natural increase in sons and daughters. . . . Of these southerners born in rural areas, only 17,500,000 live in the locality where they were born, and 3,800,000 have left the South entirely. This migration has taken

<sup>1</sup> Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942.

from the South many of its ablest people. Nearly half of the eminent scientists born in the South are now living elsewhere.

The relation of the welfare of the children of these areas to the progress of the country as a whole led the President of the United States to introduce the Report to the President on the Economic Conditions of the South with the much discussed statement:

It is my conviction that the South presents right now the Nation's No. 1 economic problem—the Nation's problem, not merely the South. For we have an economic unbalance in the Nation as a whole, due to this very condition of the South.

Differences within the States of the South make this need for help even more clear. The S.C.F. has been helping children in Wise County, Va., bordering on Kentucky. This county has the largest per capita population of the State, 121.8 per square mile as compared with 40.6 for the State as a whole, according to a report released from Virginia Polytechnic Institute in 1933.<sup>2</sup> There are no large industries to provide income, and the farms are small (next to the smallest of all the 100 counties) and third from the bottom in income from small farms. (Only Dickens and Buchanan, both S.C.F.-served counties, have more farms with incomes of less than \$1,000 a year.)

It is the consequence of this inequality in the distribution of burden for children and the resources to care for them that has made it necessary to bring help to schools. The more isolated the schools, the poorer is the equipment, the less experienced are the teachers, and less blessed is the community with resources to supplement the work of the schools.

While the Government agencies have done much to relieve conditions, there is still need for "free enterprise" in the form of such an organization as the S.C.F. in meeting gaps in the service to children. Children are still without adequate protection in clothes and diet,

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Garnett is bringing the study up to date and it will be published soon.

as reports from superintendents and welfare workers indicate. Rev. Gentry, whose whole life has been spent in that area, makes this observation on war employment in such a favored State as North Carolina:

The able bodied are away in the armed forces or in war industries. (Three times as many volunteers for the army and navy came from the mountains than from other places, the government reports.) This leaves the children and those too old to bear the rigors of industrial employment behind. The cost of goods has increased more rapidly than the prices of farm products. There are no war industries. The additional mine activities in such counties as Mitchell and Yancy affect a few (300) with wages at \$2.40 a day without the use of overtime work or pay. There are no organizations concerned with working conditions active. The passing of the W.P.A. projects leaves those who looked to it for relief.

State officials tend to blame these counties for negligent political leadership; county leaders point out the difficulties faced by Republican counties in the "Solid South." These mountain counties are the only remaining areas in the South offering opposition to the Democratic-controlled State government. The result is quite disrupting when it comes to sharing in the State appropriations.

There would be no point in bringing this into the analysis if it were not for the fact that children suffer. State officials may argue that the counties could but the fact remains that they do not, and civic-minded citizens are not willing to see the children penalized while the parties struggle for adjustment of States' resources. One illustration is found in State investment in school buildings. Those in Ashe County average \$5,764 each, with 40 of the 65 one-teacher schools; where the average for the State is \$26,929 per school, \$17,039 for counties. These counties suffer in the training of teachers. Of the 100 counties, the following ones are ranked: Allegheny 99, Ashe 97, Cherokee 76, Avery 86, Madison 83, Transylvania 81, Yancy 80.

The problem within the schoolroom is just as complex, and is

not as easily reported in statistical figures. Some counties may have health service, others none. All have welfare officers, but their services vary with resources. One of the services of the S.C.F. has been that of assisting in the study of local needs, then exploring ways of meeting them. The reports on clothes, desks, food, and books is evidence of the type of physical needs which the organization has met. Requests for more of these are evidence of needs that persist. As the tightening of control over manpower and increased bidding for educated people continue, rural schools suffer more than ever from loss of teachers capable of understanding and serving the needs of children. An East Tennessee worker reported one county with 88 teachers where 50 have already indicated intention to change. The services of the S.C.F. can be understood better by a review of educational and welfare developments within the county. Public education as we know it is largely the product of the last fifty years. During this time most of the effort has been on enrollment and in providing enough teachers to take care of the greatly expanding system. The effort to vitalize and make teaching socially significant is the concern of the present decade. In Virginia, one of the leaders, the "Tentative Course of Study for Elementary Schools" (1934), has had to win the approval of superintendents, teachers colleges, and teachers in order to reach the pupil. It is little wonder that in many an isolated school one finds little of the new spirit aimed, as the course says, "to give enriched and purposeful experiences in the classroom . . . adapted to their own needs as the purpose of the revised curriculum."

Any one who has visited the counties served by the S.C.F. has heard accounts of early church schools, built at great sacrifice and offering devoted service under trying conditions. Their foundations made the public system possible. At the same time the continuation of denominational rivalries offered a further inducement for the people to have a school system that would bring about a united community.

When private philanthropy withdrew from the field of elementary and then secondary education, there were still needs to be met. The flexibility of the program of the S.C.F. in serving the developing public system, helping schools to keep pupils in school by supplementing services with clothes, desks, food, books, added to the three R's a concern for the child.

From the initial interest in "Keep the Child in School" grew the concern for what went on within the school and at home. The staff of S.C.F. were able to call attention to public services available to the schools, WPA, surplus commodities, 4-H clubs, and other organizations interested in serving the youth. By setting of sponsored schools definitely to show what improvement can be made through providing clothes, books, food, or other help, the scope of teacher interest was extended, and the school more intimately identified with the home and community. In Tennessee where the Blue Ribbon campaign to have all children receive health services has been sponsored by the P.T.A., S.C.F. has encouraged its sponsored schools to join this worthy activity. Vacation schools have brought religious resources together so that several churches have cooperated in supporting one inclusive school for creative education and religious instruction.

The pattern of S.C.F. county organization, bringing together representatives of various agencies and public-spirited citizens, continues the trend toward integrating community activities on behalf of the child. The approach of the S.C.F. has often been on the initiative of the local community. In Avery County, for example, the work was begun when the county principals and superintendent heard of the meeting in Boone, and drove there to secure S.C.F. help. The chapter in Transylvania was started when a member of the staff of the welfare office saw an account in the paper, wrote for information, and was elected chairman of the local chapter.

At the annual meeting of the North Carolina Educational Association a teacher well known for her creative leadership heard a

description of what S.C.F. is doing. "That is just what we need," she said, and wanted a chapter organized before the close of school. When that seemed impossible, she planned for it in the fall. At Chapel Hill the idea of similar community planning grows out of Dr. Odum's office. Now the S.C.F. may not be it, but the approach of community services is in line with the type of planning and provision for services which he is stimulating by his regional conceptions.

This review of the S.C.F. has been presented to bring out the contrast between the flexible concern for services needed, the use of agencies with fixed and assigned responsibilities, and the readiness to extend the area of cooperation to any organization worthy of help that can be granted to "save the children." Where the churches have tended to work through fixed settlements, and centers, there have been many illustrations of an inability to make the transition from private to public support with grace.

So far most of the attention has been directed to the physical welfare of the child. There is now a trend toward stimulating "education and social welfare" with concern for what goes on within the school. What this means in terms of the sponsored school needs closer study for a fair evaluation, but there is evidence that the teachers are stimulated to enrich their teaching with study of human well-being as well as the mechanical 3 R's.

The three major objectives of the S.C.F. as stated by the founder, Dr. Voris, are (1) to study the needs of children and make them known; (2) to establish social-service projects; and (3) to correlate church, educational, social, and civic agency movements or forces. The last offers one of the promising opportunities before the organization. To illustrate from an experience in proposing a workshop for teachers in sponsored schools: The idea was put forth in the way of a query, Would it be possible? Would you be interested? The response from superintendents and teachers colleges was so hearty that the S.C.F. was caught in the embarrassing position of

needing to carry it through and seek some aid for teachers to make the expectations of superintendents and colleges materialize. The proposal was simply one of coordination. It may yet be able to bring other foundations into the picture so that funds left for such good work will be utilized at one of the most critical points in our present upheaval—the rural school. As the plans for the workshop were discussed, material from the forestry division, farm demonstration agents (both are assured), recreation service of the Conference of Mountain Workers in which S.C.F. cooperates will be brought into the program. Many of the families live off the forest products. Yet little is done in the schools to help the children understand the world in which they live.

In fulfilling the objectives there are more agencies that may be brought into the service of the children. Primary research in the interests of children is being conducted at universities and other centers. The Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, the Specialist in Rural Education of the United States Office of Education, the National Education Association, and the Progressive Education Association have services available to these needy areas. In religion, organizations such as the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen are eager to extend their membership to reach the ministers of the Holiness and Church of God and such churches as are serving the spiritual interests of many of these mountain areas. They have proposed a "Seminary in the Cornfield" to help ministers with the rural problem.

Planners are very much aware of these areas. They have proposals and programs. It is probable that the S.C.F. may make this a part of its "study" and "correlation" and "social service."

As the S.C.F. faces these changes and the multiplicity of organizations dealing with related problems more attention will need to be given to defining its precise service. It will be all too easy to be absorbed in activities without finding the true direction. Those who have observed the problems which the Conference of Mountain



Workers faces and the way it has been handicapped by lack of time and resources for research trust that the S.C.F. may not suffer the same restrictions. State systems are giving more time each year to studying trends and demands, Unless the programs and services can be appraised to meet the changing demands the S.C.F. may be just another organization trying to survive. If its publicity can be a genuine interpretation of the child-saving needs and activities, its administration directed to realizing its goals, and the staff continue to keep their services within the places where needs are still unmet, it will maintain the vitality which has caused it to grow as it has thus far.

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## SOME PROSPECTS FOR CHILD WELFARE IN THE UNITED STATES

Howard W. Hopkirk

### Status of Children in the United States in Wartime

War has shortened the span of dependency until the sixteen-year-old becomes as much a man or woman as the eighteen-year-old used to be. Employment, with the wages, privileges, and sometimes the responsibilities of an adult, is in some contrast to the prewar pattern whereby a youth had alternative but less mature prospects. In those days, unless he remained a student to reach high-school graduation at about eighteen years, he had little choice beyond employment in industry or business as an unskilled beginner, poorly paid and often eligible only for dead-end tasks such as the delivery of telegrams. But now we may find him earning enough to make him a taxpayer and carrying the responsibilities of a seasoned worker. Should he be one of those who does remain in high school he probably expects upon graduation a quick shift to some wartime occupation. His high-school commencement exercises may include the bestowal of his diploma *in absentia*, he being already enrolled in the armed forces.

The junior-high-school student may have become an afterschool messenger or a minder of young children. Even twelve-year-olds have slipped into such situations often enough to be noticed. Boys and girls are falsifying their ages in order to obtain working papers, their parents sometimes encouraging such deception. It becomes difficult, indeed, to tell at what age one ceases to be a child. The traditional age barriers set up by legislatures, employers, labor unions, and parents are being lowered or winked at. Where a crop is to be gathered, bowling alleys to be served, or where a shop needs an errand boy there may be strong pressures impelling a very young

child to seek employment, the family's necessity of meeting the cost of a decent living often being the strongest of these pressures.

Somewhat independent of such economic factors are other war-time forces that help to reverse the prewar tendency to prolong infancy. News stories in the year 1943 have reported the readiness of some legislators to authorize voting at the age of 18 by men in the armed forces. In New York City within one week two girls under 16 were identified as the wives of service men, one probably being a widow at the age of 14. Even though their marriages were invalid and the girls placed under the care of a children's protective society, their experiences represent a tendency to lower the age for serious courtship and bring it nearer the age of puberty. This is a good time to review the literature on child marriages, and notably the two books by Richmond and Hall.<sup>1</sup> Parents, social workers, teachers, and pastors are becoming aware that a 14- or 15-year-old girl may need only a sophisticated garb in order to assure a soldier or sailor that she is a woman.

Babies, more plentiful than ever before in the United States, may be as affected as adolescents, by the war. Even before the drafting of fathers there was a good chance of having the mother drawn into some form of employment outside the home. Care in a nursery or in the home of a relative or a foster parent by the day may be in lieu of the normal life with his own mother. For children with neurotic mothers this experience may be in the interest of their development, but for most of them it means that war has subtracted an invaluable and irreplaceable experience, the uninterrupted mothering which may well fill the first years of life. Neither the baby nor the mother receives an award for this sacrifice. And conscientious mothers are in danger of rationalizing about the advantages of a nursery or even of the care which a less distraught foster mother may supply. She seldom realizes that the limited qualifications of nursery workers

<sup>1</sup> Mary E. Richmond and Fred S. Hall, *Marriage and the State* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1929) and *Child Marriages* (1925).

and other substitute parents are well known to social workers and educators and that by and large they are no more competent than mothers themselves.

The lot of unmarried mothers and their children may be more severe because of the wartime cost of living and the consequent difficulties of mothers arranging to keep their babies. The economic eddies may, however, make it easier for the woman in such a plight to obtain employment and thus finance the temporary care of her child while she works out a continuing plan. It will be interesting to observe whether our country will be more considerate of unmarried mothers and their children when peacetime conditions again prevail. The laws of inheritance have underscored society's disapproval of childbearing without marriage, and there is a distinct relationship between such statutes and those pertaining to adoptions. Adoptions usually involve children born out of wedlock, and whatever security such a child attains through adoption. If he remains of illegitimate parentage he cannot now enjoy in the United States that acceptance by society or that assurance of support which have long been taken for granted in Europe, notably in the Scandinavian countries.

The child of Negro ancestry may have the most respectable of circumstances surrounding his birth, but his brown skin leaves him in the United States with social and economic prospects almost as uncertain as are those of a white child who happens to be born out of wedlock. His race in many communities will deprive the Negro child of the privilege of being born in a hospital, of attending certain schools or churches, of traveling in certain conveyances, and of living in a respectable home. His father may be barred from a labor union and his mother may find herself restricted to the earning of a domestic servant; factors that doubtless increase the incidence of child malnutrition, illiteracy, neglect, and delinquency. But with Negroes admitted to the company of the Army Air Corps and admitted, however slowly, to the ranks of machine operators in factories, the vestiges of their peonage may disappear more rapidly

than in peacetime when color of skin was often the determining basis for selection of manpower.

Some millions of the country's children may be added to those previously mentioned, those who have not known acute hunger, who are accepted in their communities and their families, not old enough to have become too aware of their stature nor young enough to have felt so keenly as a baby does the day-by-day separation from parents. These are the children in elementary schools, who are quite aware of the war, and who need careful, though very different, provisions for their welfare.

The war to date has found many of them less supervised than ever before. A favored group of such children, gradually increasing in size, is, however, finding more supervision in group activities, after school and during vacation periods.

It is well to recognize the advantages as well as the disadvantages of a less supervised life. Children thrown on their own will learn quicker, through making far more decisions than when their parents were more accessible. There are certain distinctly wartime disciplines, like that reflected in saving for war bond purchases. Collection of scrap and the rationing of food and clothing have left valuable impressions on children otherwise growing up in a too thriftless society. Clubs and classes in crafts and first aid are great assets.

The less pleasant view is of children running loose and into trouble. They are learning quickly but the wrong lessons. Deeds of violence, wayward conduct that flouts authority, bad companions, and excessive idleness are realities not to be ignored. Gangs can grow, as the children grow. Where schools are darkened after classes are dismissed the community often has decided, unwittingly enough, to encourage the street gang instead of the mixture of recreation and education which every neighborhood could establish in the only neighborhood institution common throughout the United States—the public school.

Hardly a child can be found who does not know some one in the

armed forces. As our boys and girls join those who mourn for the men killed in battle they are learning some of the greatest of moral and religious truths. The neighbor's son lost in action has given something beyond measuring, and our people had come to measure too many of life's values in terms of dollars or privileges. As children learn thrift in small things so they may learn a thrift which values life itself, which considers the consequences of death, even for the young, but is not miserly when life is forfeited at the request of our country or when it is freely given to save the lives of others.

#### As Children Face Situations Ahead

War is teaching the world that children, and even adults, are more adaptable and more resilient than we have thought they could be. It is true in China and Europe, and in the United States. Therefore, it is only logical to presume that whatever problems lie ahead they will be met practically. The social and ethical levels on which solutions will be reached may be higher or lower than those on which the present generation of adults is operating.

It is obvious that youths will return to school in large numbers as soon as peace permits. But just how attractive our schools will seem to the young is not too apparent. Marriage at earlier ages than has been customary may reduce substantially the number who might be expected to enroll in colleges and even in high schools. He who has tasted some economic independence as a worker may be unwilling to return to that dependence upon his family which characterizes most students.

If the United States is ever to become seriously interested in adult education, the postwar era may be the time for just such growth. Returning soldiers and young married couples will hardly want to be treated as children. Even though still in their teens, many of them through strenuous experience will have become the peers of their elders. If education especially for adults is offered, at times and places which are practical, there may be a sincere acceptance of it

by adolescents and by older adults. Neighborhood school facilities utilized for the defense effort have been put to uses never before considered. It would be only natural for the young to ask that in these same schools there be a diversified program of postwar education that will help them meet their new problems as parents, workers, and citizens. As our people pay the high taxes, which even the humblest will be assessed, we can expect them to demand more careful accounting from the Government and a more certain guarantee of essential services needed by them and their children.

It may even be that our people will move into a more vital and less passive interest in the arts. An appetite for artistic expression may be stimulated by the deprivations of war, and by the leadership both of talented refugees and of our own increasingly mature artists. The Vienna of this century may be on the shores of one of the Great Lakes, and our youth may find in Cleveland or Detroit the world's greatest resources for those who are searching for beauty and truth. Technical and scientific developments of unprecedented proportions seem even more assured.

Homes will be built along patterns we cannot foresee. The greater independence of mothers and all women will have its impact upon children of all ages. The tradition for co-education in the United States and the acceptance by so many young people of the responsibilities of parenthood are healthy and powerful assets in the development of a sound moral fabric for our society. These are offsets to the irresponsible behavior, with consequent disruption of homes, which accompanies and follows war.

Appropriations for prenatal, maternal, and infant care will receive more attention from the electorate. Should the present shortage of physicians, nurses, and public-health workers be accompanied by severe epidemics and a consequent rise in the rates of infant morbidity and mortality, we may for the first time have an indignant public requiring basic services for children which have been plentiful only in our more favored communities.

The child of school age may find the neighborhood as concerned

about his protection from unwholesome moral and physical hazards as it has been in accounting for his protection from air raids. Our children of school and preschool ages need to have a security which for many has never been realized. They should be *wanted* by their parents and the neighborhood and the entire community. The confusion caused by wartime scarcity of housing and the overcrowding of schools and recreation facilities have deprived many to the extent that they need more acceptance than if there had been no war. It is like the convalescent child who has an increased need for his cod liver oil.

### Child Welfare Horizons

This country has never lost its dream of any boy having a chance to become its president. It is an ideal which needs clearer definition and it is probable that the year 1950 will find us much more practical both in its definition and realization. The birthright that only a third or a half have enjoyed may be extended to all. Possibly a girl or a Negro child can then think of the presidency as a possibility.

Every soldier, sailor, marine, and coastguard has his ration provided and it is a ration that is adequate. He is equally well clothed and he carries into action his first-aid kit which reduces greatly his danger of death from wounds. These standards for our men are higher than in World War I.

A better standard of living for every child is only a logical outgrowth of present trends. Child feeding, at home and at school, should not be affected by the illness or unemployment of a parent. At the beginning of this century we had little concern for a balanced diet and our resources for producing food were much less than now. American pride may be considered only a thin veneer unless rickets become as rare as yellow fever.

The surplus of physicians and nurses after the war will be more than needed if the birth and development of each child are to have those safeguards that middle-class families have taken for granted.



Services and facilities will require an organization which we are only beginning to accept throughout the country.

The religious, educational, and recreational nourishment of our children will indeed tax our resources for social planning. We are capable of enlisting our boys and girls in activities more democratic than those through which Axis countries have indoctrinated their youth. But again, we have only begun to meet this need. The respect for personality which will come from youth's own participation in planning is essential. A parity of individuals, sexes, and races with a minimum of regimentation is not easy to achieve.

A sincere respect for each child will be reflected in a strengthening of many services for the handicapped. Our children's courts, clinics, schools for the delinquent, the feeble-minded and physically handicapped, foster care in institutions and family homes, children's protective services and facilities for day care, all will attract more competent personnel and will be more adequately financed—if the United States really cares for its children.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Child Psychology*, by CHARLES E. SKINNER and PHILIP L. HARRIMAN (eds.). New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941, ix + 522 pages.

This latest text on child psychology is an excellent collaborative effort unmarred by the usual duplication of subject matter found in similar works. The viewpoint is genetic, stressing the development of an integrated growing personality in the child. In this regard it should be valuable to those preparing for positions in primary and elementary education.

Physical, motor, dynamic, language, emotional, mental, intellectual, social, moral, religious, aesthetic, and play aspects of wholesome personality development are traced by experts in each field. Particularly interesting is the chapter on aesthetic experience of childhood by Gladys Risdén.

The appendix contains an outline prepared by Ralcigh Drake. This feature of the text should make the book a teachable one.

*Gullah*, by MASON CRUM. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University, 1940, xv + 351 pages, \$3.50.

*Gullah* is a study of the Carolina coastal life, with the Negro as the chief character. In particular, its interest centers chiefly on the three islands on the Carolina coast. The book treats of various phases of the life in this section, particularly before the Civil War and during the time of the later conflict and adjustment. Much valuable material is added to our understanding of this phase of our history by this study.

The criticisms grow out of the organization and presentation of the materials rather than the types of materials presented. The author has gathered a vast array of data which are highly valuable and very interesting but has failed to organize them around a central problem or theme, so that the book lacks structure and organization. A concluding chapter with some interpretation of the materials would have strengthened the book.

The point of view of the author is quite southern. He has stressed too much, perhaps, the climate, the beauty of the country, and the influence of "the odor of bay blossoms and sweet myrtle." His point of view that the Negro problem must be solved by the Negroes and whites of the sec-

tion rather than by outside interference is well taken. The book is very interesting and worth the time spent in reading it for any one who is interested in race relations.

*Teacher-Pupil Relationships*, by BERNICE BAXTER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941, 166 pages.

The observation technique has been used in this book as a basis for analyzing the quality of effective teaching. What many teachers said and did in the classroom situation and what their pupils said and did have been observed, recorded, and finally classified under descriptions differentiating the good teacher from the poor teacher. Actual samples of teacher-pupil relationships observed in actual learning situations are listed under each descriptive phrase as illustrative of positive and negative methods.

The material should be helpful (1) to teachers in evaluating themselves and their teaching methods; (2) to supervisors in evaluating teachers; (3) to student teachers in developing the skill of observing pupil activity in the classroom as a check on the effectiveness of their teaching.

A major contribution of the book is the recognition of teacher-pupil relationships as the heart of the educative process.

*What Our Schools Are Teaching*, by HERBERT B. BRUNER and others. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941, 225 pages.

When a careful analysis is made of 1,175 selected courses of study, and 85,000 other courses of study are used as a field of verification; when five authors spend five years, aided by the services of numerous research and clerical assistants, in making an analysis, the results deserve the careful attention of thoughtful educators everywhere, and the book becomes a "must" on the special reading lists of curriculum and methods courses in teacher-training institutions.

The special reference of the book is to the fields of science, social studies, and industrial arts. If only by parallel thinking or analogy, the techniques and conclusions ought to be of general interest. For those who wish to make intensive study of the data presented, many tables and charts and much of statistics are furnished. For those who wish to read as they run and will accept the conclusions without verification, those conclusions are

furnished neatly at the end of each section. Here, then, is a study thoroughly competent within its announced limits. Its chief weakness is its lack of an index.

*The Creative Unconscious: Studies in the Psychoanalysis of Art*, by HANNS SACHS. Cambridge: Sci-Art Publishers, 1942, 240 pages.

Dr. Sachs, editor of *American Imago*, and professor at Harvard Medical School, explores the fundamental problems of aesthetics in this volume from the viewpoint of the Freudian psychology. The first part treats of the creative act starting from daydreams as the most common form of fantasy. The second part tries to illustrate the theory in three ways: one chapter showing how a genius picks up a timeworn piece of material and transforms it into a masterpiece; the second, how an inhibition, caused by unconscious conflicts, can influence the course of civilization. The third part is concerned with the central problem of aesthetics: beauty. While this book will be of interest to all artists and teachers of aesthetics, it will be of particular interest to nursery-school and elementary-school teachers, who already are aware that the child's productions are a means to understanding his inner motivations, and to therapists who are using the child's production in art, writing, and the drama as a technique of therapy.

*Social Work; An Analysis of a Social Institution*, by HELEN LELAND WITMER. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1942, 539 pages.

A comprehensive discussion of the entire field of social work dealing with three major topics: (1) the nature of the social work institution and the function it serves; (2) what circumstances and needs called it into existence and how its present basic principles were arrived at; (3) how its chief function is discharged in the various fields in which it now mainly operates. This volume is a source book that should prove invaluable to teachers and students of social work.

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## FOREWORD

Almost every one agrees that what is commonly called "the Negro question" in the United States is no longer a peculiarly "southern" problem. It is indeed national. In some of its implications, which have been widened by the present globe-encircling war, the Negro question is of serious international concern. And yet most of the literature on the subject concentrates upon race relations in the American South.

It is easy enough to see why this is so. Historically, an overwhelming majority of black folk in this country have lived in the South; the crises of slavery, Civil War, and Reconstruction arose and, in large part, had their being in this section. Not to be forgotten is the traditional insistence of many white southern leaders that "outsiders" should not "intermeddle" in the South's "domestic affairs."

The intersectional migrations, which reached a flood during World War I, necessitated the first sharp break with this habitual treatment of Negro-white relations as exclusively southern phenomena. This tide of humanity, Negro and white, which never ceased to flow northward and cityward, has again swollen. The contact and conflict of men and ideas in motion have burst forth in dramatic and sometimes tragic form. War conditions have intensified both change and resistance to change.

Moreover, it is in the North that the struggle for "Negro rights" assumes the same form as do the other classic struggles for democracy in America. On the other hand, some of the southern Negro

leaders and their friends admit that they are not prepared, just now, to lead an assault upon the battlements of segregation—an essential issue in any “all-out” crusade against the barriers to economic, political, social, and cultural equality.

It is in such a context that this issue of *THE JOURNAL* attempts to describe and analyze some of the developments which are occurring in the North at the present moment. This is the first time, we believe, that an effort has been made to picture Negro-white relations with the North as the canvas. There is much to be gained in looking at the North as a whole; in noting the similarities and variations within the section and by implication, at least, comparing and contrasting the conditions of life here with those in the South.

As with “the South,” it is difficult to say precisely just what is “the North.” In a figurative sense, any region is a state of mind. New Jersey and Indiana have been referred to, upon occasion, as “southern States up North.” The Federal Census includes the New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central, and West North Central States in its North. This, it is seen, included Missouri, which is often regarded as “southern.” Several of the North Central States have a definite “western” flavor. In common parlance, the Mason-Dixon line between Pennsylvania and Maryland and, after that, the Ohio River divide the North from the South. However, any map will show that the point at which the meandering Ohio River joins the Mississippi River is some hundred miles to the south of the northernmost boundary of Pennsylvania. And so on. Without raising other complications involved in an accurate sociological definition, perhaps it may be enough to say that for present purposes the term, “the North,” is used loosely. Here it refers to Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Nebraska. Rather arbitrarily Missouri and Kansas are excluded.

The population of this North is about 70 million; the Negro population approximately 2½ million. Ninety-eight per cent of this

Negro population is located in metropolitan districts. This means that the focus of this issue of *THE JOURNAL* will be upon urban life and the process of urbanization. Accordingly, profiles are drawn of three northern cities. Chicago, Detroit, and New York. These discussions reveal communities of different types and document the major trends in social adjustment. It would have been well, had space permitted, to have presented similar accounts of Philadelphia and Boston: Philadelphia, because of its size, Quaker and Negro history, and the experience there of all-Negro units in the shipbuilding industry; Boston, because it has not had an influx of war workers to influence its reputation for New England liberalism and "culture," though statistically its mere 23,000 Negroes put it in the class with Gary, Indiana. Also, surveys of some of the smaller towns would have rounded out the story. Fortunately, these and other leads may be pursued by consulting the bibliography printed in this issue.

Some explanation may be needed for inserting a profile of Baltimore, Maryland. A reading of the piece itself will give the best answer on this point. Baltimore is highly useful for illustrative and comparative purposes. It is the true example of a border city which graphically illuminates the problems and approaches toward solution, both positive and negative, of race relations northward bound.

Throughout this issue there has been an effort to avoid the usual underscoring of the "problem" side of these human relations. All along some attention has been given to social achievement. There is an essay on what the Negro himself thinks about race relations in a democracy.

Finally, the several articles on the northern Negro during wartime should be read against the background of world forces which cannot be detailed here: the killing, dying, loving, and hating of the actual clash of arms; the vast movements of men and materiel; the combination of diverse peoples as allies; the real and pretended conflict of ideas; and the manipulation of slogans and symbols to weld unities or sharpen divergencies.

It is only in this international setting that the behavior of the

Negro in the United States may be fully understood or its wide significance appraised. The realization that the dynamic of Negro life is moving through the configuration of world forces is, perhaps, the best gauge of the momentum of Negro thought today.

For example, those who have been able to establish rapport with Negro youth in the North testify to their complete rejection of racial subordination. This rejection is psychological even when it is not possible sociologically to change the particular circumstance of life causing the irritation.

This drive for full participation on the part of the rising generation is intense and embraces the whole gamut of the oft-repeated expectations of the average citizen in a democracy. When thwarted, this impulse emerges in both social and antisocial conduct. Thus, resentment is not only expressed through the organized youth movements but also through the ready, profane language, "jive talk," "zoot-suits," knives and homemade guns of those who have been called "hep-cat delinquents" and "young hoodlums." Often the discussants of crime and delinquency forget that these phenomena are, also, social protests—protests against the neglect and maltreatment of individuals and groups within a society; protests which are not permitted to find expression within the legal framework of the social order.

By implication, then, this number of *THE JOURNAL* comes as a brief commentary on the influence of world forces on the more articulate segment of an American minority. Specifically, this number may be considered as a supplement to what has been written about the Negro in the South, and as a corrective to much that is being said and written from a national point of view. Far too often a disproportionate emphasis has been given, consciously or unconsciously, to what has been experienced, thought, said, and planned in the South.

L. D. REDDICK

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## PROFILES: CHICAGO

J. G. St. Clair Drake

In a number of American cities, during the spring and summer of 1943, the rhythm of war production and the pattern of "national unity" were broken by interracial conflict—"zoot-suiter"-sailor clashes in Los Angeles; adolescent gang fights in Newark and Philadelphia; mob violence in Beaumont, Texas, and major riots in Detroit and New York. Throughout this period, an air of uneasiness pervaded every northern city with a large Negro population.

Citizens of Chicago, America's second largest city, were particularly apprehensive. Many of them remembered another such summer, twenty-four years ago, when a race riot in Chicago took a toll of 38 lives. Since that time property owners' associations, several craft unions, and a few small but blatant anti-Negro groups had continuously attempted to define the Negroes' "place" in the city's life and aggressively to keep them there. The Negro population had shown a high degree of protective solidarity in the struggle against economic and political subordination and against segregation and discrimination. Economic necessity and political expediency powerfully reinforced the efforts of those Negro leaders and white liberals who sought to broaden the areas of Negro participation in the city's life. Upon the outbreak of World War II, highly "race-conscious" and bearing bitter memories of the South from which most of them originally came, Chicago Negroes were open-voiced about the Negro's wartime status.

In poolroom and tavern, from press and pulpit, and by unorganized grumbling and mass protest against discrimination in industry and the armed forces, they made their feelings known. Substandard living conditions in an overcrowded, seven-square mile "Black-Belt" (originated and maintained by restrictive covenants that forbade Negroes from renting or buying in 85 per cent of the city's area) produced a social situation in which the juvenile delinquent

and the "zoot-suiter" sometimes expressed an unconscious social protest in bizarre and antisocial forms

Now, in the summer of 1943, soldiers and sailors from all sections of the country crowded Chicago's streets. Present, too, were all the irritations incident to an industrial community in wartime—tired men and women, crowded streetcars and elevated trains, exasperation with high rents and rising food prices, disrupted families. And among Negroes there was the deep-seated feeling that they were being cheated by white America's unfulfilled promise of the Four Freedoms, as well as by the landlord, grocer, and pawnbroker. Anything could happen!

On June 18, *The Chicago Tribune*, in its leading editorial, referred to outbreaks throughout the country and to the Chicago riot of 1919, stating that "It must not be allowed to happen here again." Upon several occasions "IT" seemed about to happen. As when a 16-year-old colored boy, highly regarded by the community, was killed by an overzealous white policeman. Or when cries of "Lynch him" arose from a white crowd during a fight on a streetcar between a Negro and the white conductor. Or the occasion when a group of white youths armed with shovels and pick handles ran a colored boy out of a white neighborhood. And *The Chicago Tribune* all during the summer played up lurid (and sometimes grossly inaccurate) stories about Negro rapists and burglars.

The tension was reflected in continuous discussion and some action by groups interested in preventing a riot. *The Chicago Defender*, leading Negro weekly, commented with some relief just prior to the Detroit riot that there had been no serious interracial clashes in the city. It warned Negro "zoot-suiters" to mind their "P's and Q's," but insisted that prevention of riots was not a one-sided affair to be handled by Negroes alone. After Detroit, there was intense activity by Negro and white civic and religious groups and by labor unions—all trying to create a climate of opinion that would discountenance violence. Various Negro organizations called mass

meetings. Deputations visited the Mayor and Police Commissioner, extracting from both a promise that the police would not show partiality in case of a riot. Admitting by implication recurrent charges of bias on the part of the policemen in the past, the Police Commissioner stated, "The days when police are prejudiced against a man because of his color are past." The Mayor was at first reluctant to admit publicly the possibility of a riot. He said, "There is no race trouble in Chicago. Talk of stopping trouble which is only a myth tends to make trouble." Near the end of July, however, at the request of Negro and white civic leaders, he appointed a "Mayor's Committee on Race Relations" with eleven members and headed by Edwin Embree of the Rosenwald Fund. This Committee conferred with police officials, key publicists, and various influential persons in an effort to enlist their aid in dispelling rumors and in acting promptly, but calmly, in the case of an emergency. It held eight meetings and two public hearings during the summer.

In discussing the prevention of a riot, city officials tended to emphasize the need for increased police measures in Negro areas to curb "hoodlums"—Negro and white—who might attempt to break the peace. Negro leaders, the Mayor's Committee, church groups, and the more progressive daily papers, while admitting the necessity for adequate police measures, stressed the fact that riots were symptomatic of deeper, chronic maladjustments—discrimination in industry, inadequate housing, inferior school facilities, and the Negro's long-standing dissatisfaction with his subordinate role in the nation's life. So long as these remained, they insisted, there would be danger of riots.

The summer passed without a riot. Whether the effort of community leadership was a primary factor in preventing a riot is open to question. Unquestionably important are certain basic differences between the Negro-white equilibrium in Chicago and that in Detroit and New York, respectively. Important, too, was the fact that while the Negro population increased by about 20 per cent

between 1940 and 1943—from 278,000 to 350,000<sup>1</sup>—it did not have the psychological impact of the mass migration into the city during the First World War. Chicago had become used to Negroes. Decisive, no doubt, was fortunate accident.

### Black Belt—Black Ghetto

Since the period of the First World War an overcrowded Black Belt has been characteristic of Chicago. In June of 1943, the chairman of the Chicago Housing Authority characterized it as "more crowded than the slums of Calcutta"—over 250,000 people in an area designed to accommodate 150,000. All attempts to reduce this congestion have been frustrated by the Chicago Real Estate Board and numerous neighborhood property owners' associations. Last August, for instance, one such group had thirty Negro families of war workers evicted from a building because the white owner dared to ignore a restrictive covenant by renting to them. These real-estate interests have not only opposed the expansion of the Negro population; they have also fought against Federal housing. Fearing the extension of nonsegregated public housing and an ultimate legal victory over restrictive covenants (and also seeing an opportunity for lucrative investment), a few private realtors have, within the last three years, begun to plan for the erection of privately financed *segregated* projects. The most ambitious project of this type, now under construction, is planned to house about 900 families and will cost \$4,500,000. Even this project was fought by a neighborhood property owners' association, which tried to stimulate a "run" on the bank sponsoring it and gathered 11,000 petitions in an attempt to halt it. Neither this project, nor a proposed \$8,000,000 Federal war housing project of 3,200 units will effectively relieve the overcrowding. These are just "drops in the bucket." In war as in peace, housing for Negroes is one of Chicago's chief problems.

<sup>1</sup> From an estimate cited by Dr. Charles S. Johnson in the September 1943 issue of *A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations* (Nashville, Tenn. Social Science Institute, Fisk University).

Any distinctively Negro patterns of behavior or attitude which may exist in Chicago are largely a product of the social isolation of the Black Belt. Here rents are 20 to 50 per cent higher than in other areas of the city. Public services are more consistently neglected. The schools are overcrowded and nearly all of the city's double-shift schools are in the area. Mortality and morbidity rates, as well as juvenile delinquency and crime rates, are disproportionately high. Recreational facilities are inadequate. Most of the white persons in the Black Belt are there in some capacity which emphasizes and symbolizes the control which white people have over the fate of Negroes in the general economic, social, and political hierarchies—the white bill collector or salesman, the school teacher, social worker, or policeman; the curious or the “slummers.” Over 85 per cent of the retail establishments are owned and operated by white persons, and they and their property become the focal point of antagonism toward white people in general.

Within this spatial and social framework morale tends to be low and tempers taut. Anti-Semitic sentiments are latent.<sup>1</sup> Demands for the control of the Black Belt arise. Resentments assume varied organizational forms. The people marshal their economic and political power and, despite the occasional prostitution of both by some unscrupulous leaders, they are able to make demands for improvements within the Black Belt and for its ultimate dissolution as an enforced state of existence. For while it is conceivable that many Negroes would prefer to live in an all-Negro community, they resent being *forced* to live there.

But all is not unrelieved misery and frustration within the Black Belt. Here people also enjoy life. There are some 500 churches, numerous fraternal and social clubs, and all of the round of activities which arise in wartime—Civilian Defense, Bond rallies, Red Cross meetings, and the entertainment of soldiers (legitimate and other-

<sup>1</sup> This Anti-Semitism is aggravated by the fact that many of the small merchants are Jewish, and become the scapegoat for the community's frustrations

wise). A small but important "upper class" (business and professional people, in the main) tops a social pyramid which includes thousands of middle-class families oriented toward the general American pattern of consumption and behavior. For the first time in a decade there is money to spend—and the people are spending it. For the first time in a decade, too, people have a functional relationship to society—with prestige symbols and status positions. They are enjoying that. From prostitute to preacher—everybody is profiting by the new employment which has come to a community that five years ago depended so largely upon an income from WPA and relief.

### **Breaking the Job Ceiling**

The First World War turned Chicago's Negro population from a servant class into a segment of the industrial proletariat—unskilled and semiskilled. The depression of 1929 catapulted these marginal workers into the ranks of the unemployed, there to remain until a Second World War made their labor again necessary. When the great industrial expansion of 1939 began, over one fifth of all Negro males were without any work at all, and another ten per cent were employed on Federal "relief" projects. Over 65 per cent of the Negro families were living on an income of less than \$1,000 a year (compared to only 30 per cent of the white families). For ten depression years, twice as many Negroes as whites, in proportion to their numbers, were unemployed.

Throughout 1939 and 1940, while large numbers of white workers were being re-employed, Negroes were finding it difficult to secure even labor jobs in the industries that had traditionally hired them—the steel mills and stockyards. As production gathered momentum they were drawn into the lowest paid fields, but a ceiling remained at the level of semiskilled work. Many industries still refused to hire Negroes at all. The Urban League, which for twenty years had been seeking to widen the area of industrial opportunity, began immediately to "sell" Negro labor to employers who had not

utilized it, and to stress *diversification* and *upgrading* where Negroes were already employed. It has placed Negroes in over 600 different industries in 1943. The United States Employment Service at first haltingly and later with some vigor also attempted to "educate" the employers.

In addition to the routine activities of social agencies, such protest organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Negro Congress, and the March-on-Washington Movement organized picket lines and demonstrations in order to focus attention upon employers who discriminated. The Illinois State Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population and later the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee, through their public hearings, brought the pressure of public opinion to bear upon recalcitrant employers and labor unions.

The C.I.O. by its insistence upon strict application of seniority provisions in the packing, steel, and farm equipment industries and by its influence in the newly organized electrical and automotive industry has secured the upgrading of Negroes in numerous instances and created a general atmosphere conducive to the acceptance of Negroes as skilled workers. (There have been less than a half-dozen insignificant "hate strikes" in Chicago.) There has been little of the tension in industry so evident in other cities.

New allies were gained in the form of tax-conscious businessmen who wanted to liquidate the WPA which was fast becoming an all-Negro institution. Private employment agencies with a backlog of Negro applicants also became interested in placements.

Probably none of these activities would have been successful, however, had there not been a constantly dwindling labor supply. Sometime during 1943 a point was reached where neither pressure nor persuasion was needed. Negroes were the only large source of manpower. Recently an official of the Chicago Urban League stated, "Right now all employable Negroes either have or can find jobs." The jobs they are obtaining now are not in the traditional

industries, but are due to openings in "new" industries. The Western Electric Company and the three large new airplane engine factories—Dodge, Studebaker, and Buick—are using thousands of Negro men and women in skilled capacities. The most significant employment trend is the increasing use of Negro women in skilled and clerical work. It is estimated that over 60,000 Negroes entered industry during 1943.

### Community Organization and Negro Morale

Since Pearl Harbor, Negroes in Chicago have combined persistent "protest" with loyal support of the war. Negro leaders in Chicago, of all social classes and levels of "culture," have been united upon one platform—that the touchstone of America's sincerity about the Four Freedoms is her treatment of Negroes. Throughout the last three years there have been numerous occasions when the normally conservative leaders have cooperated with the more aggressive and spectacular "radical" leaders to stress demands for employment, to protest against discrimination in the armed forces or some local or national injustice. The broad masses, however, have too often been left to gain catharsis through individual truculence and the unorganized behavior of the brawl. The leaders, however, have not confined their activities to protest. They have been seeking for means of curbing juvenile delinquency, stimulating thrift, stressing care of property, etc.

### The White Public

The vigorous demands of a minority group can only be effective in a social order which admits that they have some claim to democratic rights. There must be a public opinion that will permit and support the relaxation of barriers. On the whole, white Chicagoans seem to be generally unconcerned about the fate of Negroes rather than hostile toward their aspirations. It is only when they begin to



interpret the Negroes' demands as inimical to their economic security or prestige that they react in any positive manner. Normally they work, ride, eat, and in many cases live beside Negroes without alarm or friction. During this present war, the rate of Negro upgrading in industry and of expansion in space does not seem to have precipitated a state of alarm. There have been relatively few southern white migrants. The only organized aggressive anti-Negro acts have come from property owners' associations and some of the A.F. of L. unions. Even the close senatorial and mayoral contests of 1942 and 1943 did not evoke any significant anti-Negro propaganda. An increasingly large number of white people are taking what might be termed an intelligent interest in the extension of full democracy to the Negro. Both the Catholic and Protestant churches have made small beginnings in intercultural education. The C.I.O. movement, since 1935 (largely through the urging of a militant Communist minority), has not only welded Negro and white workers together for economic ends in the large mass-production industries, but has also been successful in bringing the "Negro problem" before thousands of white workers. It is significant that in recent months the C.I.O. has organized some community groups to combat the pernicious anti-Negro propaganda of certain property owners' associations. They have upon numerous occasions protested stoutly the discrimination against Negroes in hotels, restaurants, and dance halls where union affairs were being held. The most significant recent developments in intercultural education have been the nationally publicized plan of integrating materials on Negro life and history into the city school curriculum, and the discussion groups which Civilian Defense Morale Wardens have held in several communities.

Negroes have the best press they have ever had in Chicago. *The Sun*, a morning paper with a wide circulation, and *The Times*, an afternoon tabloid, have a favorable and wise approach to Negro problems. Even the Hearst *Herald-American* and *The Chicago*

*Tribune*, desirous of weaning Negroes away from the New Deal, are forced to accord some attention to the aspirations of Negroes. During the summer, *The Tribune* ran six editorials ostensibly against race riots. Three called for increased police control over "hoodlums"; others contained scathing denunciations of Mayor La Guardia, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the New Deal.

To say that Negroes have a good press is not to minimize the oversensational treatment of crime news involving Negroes or the boomerang effect of some well-meaning but lurid articles on Black Belt poverty designed to shock the city into awareness of the Negro problem. It is merely to recognize that Negro achievement is presented as well as crime, and that occasional editorials, feature articles, and columnists' remarks indicate a not unfavorable attitude toward the Negro's aspirations. The same tendency may be noted with regard to local radio outlets.

#### Postwar Probabilities

Many Chicagoans view Negro-white relations negatively—solely in terms of preventing a riot. While all responsible Negroes would prefer social peace, there is evidence to indicate that their primary interest is in the complete abolition of political and economic subordination and enforced segregation. Insofar as a violent outburst focuses attention upon their problems it is not viewed by them as an unmitigated evil.

Chicago's last riot came *after* the war. There is still danger that in the critical postwar years it might happen again. Any attempts to preserve the equilibrium which now exists must involve the following processes. (1) the constructive channelizing of mass resentment into action patterns of nonviolent protest; (2) the strengthening of social controls—familial, associational, and governmental—within the Black Belt; (3) the continuous interpretation of the Negroes' aspirations and demands to all sections of the white com-

munity; (4) the actual progressive relaxation of discrimination and segregation during the war; (5) the inclusion of Negroes in all postwar plans on an equitable basis.

The Chicago Planning Commission has already begun to consider the reconversion of industry and large-scale, privately financed housing projects. With two aldermen, several State representatives, representation on the Board of Education, the Library Board, and the Housing Commission, Negroes are in a position to protect their interests. In the final analysis, however, any local plans will be contingent upon the overall international picture and the type of national administration that will be selected in 1944. Here, too, the Negro voters of Chicago will wield some power. Recent elections have shown a more pronounced tendency to split the vote than at any time since the great shift to the Democrats in the thirties. They have also shown an increasing tendency to cooperate with liberal and labor groups in specific campaigns.

It is too early to hazard a guess as to whether the intense political activity of the coming spring and summer will result in increased racial tension in Chicago, or whether it will operate to secure concessions from both parties without arousing the type of anti-Negro antagonisms which flared forth in the recent Detroit elections and which seemed to be emerging at one point in the Chicago mayoralty campaign of 1943. It is encouraging to note, however, that the forces are at hand for an intelligent handling of Negro-white relations within the coming years if these forces are strengthened and extended.

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## PROFILES: NEW YORK

Warren M. Banner

In many ways New York is the leading city in America. This is a general truth that is well known. Not so well known is the specific truth that here minorities enjoy a larger share of all opportunities than elsewhere. Thus, when fascist-tending efforts appear—such as “Stuyvesant Town,” housing project for a racially exclusive “walled city” within the metropolis—the citizens arise and protest, “We’ll have none of that here!” New York is not ideal but there are few places like it where the Negro’s welfare is normally considered part and parcel of the general welfare.

The growth of the Negro population in New York has been tremendous. This total increased from 152,467 in 1920 to 327,706 in 1930 and to 458,444 in 1940. The ratio of Negroes in the population of the entire city has increased from 2.7 per cent in 1920 to 4.7 per cent in 1930, and to 6.1 per cent in the 1940 population of 7,454,995. Between 1930 and 1940, the increase in the Negro population has been about 40 per cent as compared with an 8 per cent increase in the total population. This ratio of increase holds for all five boroughs—from that in which the ratio of Negroes is smallest (Bronx, 2 per cent) to that in which it is largest (Manhattan, 16 per cent).

The present (1944) Negro population of New York City is a matter of conjecture. Contrary to popular notion that Negroes are crowding into the city, Charles S. Johnson estimates a loss of 25,000<sup>1</sup> since the last census. This drop may be explained in part by the fact that the great masses of Negroes here are not enjoying full employment. Some workers have left the city for war jobs elsewhere.

### Income and Housing

The poverty of the great masses of Negroes in New York City is evident in the low average income of the group. In 1935-1936, it

<sup>1</sup> *A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations* (Nashville, Tenn.: Social Science Institute, Fisk University), September 1943, p. 12

was \$837 for families with both husband and wife as contrasted with \$1,814 for white families. The number one problem among Negroes in the city was then, and now is, earning a living. The significance of this is further indicated by the fact that in 1936 Negroes were 22 per cent of the relief load; in January 1942 they were 26 per cent of the relief load, though but 6 per cent of the population. This change in ratio does not indicate an increase in the number of Negroes on relief, for there were 10,000 less cases in 1942 than in 1936. It indicates rather that the white registrants were leaving the relief rolls and returning to industry at a much faster pace than were Negroes. During the depression years, about half of the Negro population was on relief and WPA.

Today the jobs and income of the great mass of Negroes are still such that conditions among the group are below an acceptable standard of decent, comfortable living. Employment discrimination continues in a number of fields. The utility companies, insurance companies, department and retail stores (here it should be mentioned that a few of the large ones have recently begun employing Negroes as stock and sales persons), and large concerns processing commodities for public use are among those refusing employment to Negroes on the basis of their qualifications. Although gains have been made in placing Negro men and women in various occupations in war industries, in some fields—especially aircraft production—very little progress can be reported. The City government is not beyond criticism in the matter of employment discrimination for only recently was the first full-time, regular teacher hired on the staff of a City college and have nurses begun to be employed in the various hospitals. There is a notable lack of administrative assistants and physicians in municipal hospitals.

The opportunities which have recently been opened to Negroes in industry are still outweighed by "token representations" and other restrictions. Labor unions furnish the barrier in some of these instances. Negroes, generally speaking, are admitted to unions in

New York City on a par with others. Certain unions have been instrumental in assisting Negroes to share in job opportunities and advancement as well as in job protection. However, in spite of the fact that a State law prohibits discrimination because of race or religion, certain other unions continue to exclude Negroes. In some cases this is accomplished by constitutional provision;<sup>3</sup> in others by tacit agreement.<sup>4</sup> A few, offering a compromise to Negro workers, admit them to Jim-Crow auxiliaries.<sup>4</sup> Where organized labor controls jobs, this control conditions the extent to which Negroes have been employed or upgraded.

In all probability the New York community has the largest concentration of Negroes in professional positions and responsible jobs of any city in the nation. Evidence of this can be seen in the respect commanded by the six judges, the City Council and State Legislature representatives, the several City commissioners, the City's buyer of drugs, the locally placed member of the State Unemployment Insurance Appeal Board, and hundreds of civil-service employees—running the entire gamut, including those with the Board of Education, those in private health and welfare work, and those who operate their own businesses. Although the progress of the last mentioned group has been great, the number is relatively small.

The economic state of the Negro, more or less determined by his job opportunities, aggravates the handicap confronting him in his effort to house, clothe, and feed himself and his family. Negroes in New York City continue to pay more for what they get in hous-

<sup>3</sup> Among these are Commercial Telegraphers Union, Masters, Mates and Pilots (Local 88), Railroad Telegraphers, Train Porters, Brakemen and Switchmen, Locomotive Engineers, Railway Conductors, Train Dispatchers, Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Wire Weavers, and Machinists (Locals 132 and 295)

<sup>4</sup> These include Heat, Front and Asbestos Workers, Electrical Workers (A F of L Local 3), Marine Electrical Workers (Local 277), Plumbers and Steamfitters (Locals 1, 2, 374, 639, and 711)

<sup>4</sup> Among these are Blacksmiths, Boilermakers, Shipbuilders and Welders (Locals 2, 21, 24, 43, 45, and 200), Railway Carmen, Railway and Steamship Clerks and Freight Handlers, Express Division (New York Central System), Maintenance of Way Employees

(The above citations are from a special memorandum on labor-union discrimination in New York City prepared by Prentice Thomas )

ing than do other residents of the City. Apartment overcrowding and high rentals are two factors that make living very difficult. The second factor contributes to the first and both are the result of artificial barriers restricting the places where Negroes may live. Colored persons are not only forced to bid up rentals for any available unit, but they must pay a higher ratio of their income for housing accommodations than is usual. Many families have had to accept lodgers in order that a sizable proportion of the income might be available for food and clothing. This practice, naturally, creates a great deal of overcrowding. The economic opportunities for the Negro have not kept pace with the rise in the cost of living.

Housing projects have been built in many sections of the City. In these dwellings, with the exception of Harlem River Houses (a project of all-Negro occupancy), Negro and white families live together. The number of units provided serves only as a demonstration in decent living at low rentals, but by no means solves the problem. Although, as stated above, there is not an acute shortage of houses for the general population in New York, in the rental range which fits the economic status of the great mass of Negroes, there is a tremendous shortage of habitable dwelling units. This was true before the war effort got under way, and there is little evidence of any subsequent change.

### Education and Delinquency

In spite of the fact that several new schools have been built in New York City and others have been repaired, the school authorities have been under criticism. Complaints registered against the school system cover structural decay of buildings, superannuation and inefficiency of teaching staff, inadequate and improper guidance of youth, excessive retardation among school children, accompanied by too many part-time sessions in Negro neighborhoods. The Board of Education, recognizing some of the problems which have daily shown themselves in the classroom, has recently

launched a demonstration project to "reduce delinquency and help maladjusted children in underprivileged areas."

In the calendar year following Pearl Harbor, Negro youth in New York City were 1,651 (or 33.6 per cent) of the 4,904 allegedly delinquent cases before the Children's Court. Among the 1,080 cases involving girls, Negroes were 42.5 per cent (459). Among the boys (3,824 cases), Negro youth were 31.2 per cent (1,192). Prior to Pearl Harbor, published reports indicate that the number of white children brought before the courts decreased over a ten-year period while the number of Negro cases increased considerably. These same reports fail, however, to mention the disproportionate ratio of increase in institutions and agencies working on character-building and preventive programs among the two groups. They do say, however, that the community failed to provide corrective agencies for Negroes comparable to those for whites.

In 1942, of 60,944 adult cases that came before the criminal courts, 22,770 (37.3 per cent) were identified as Negro. Negro females were 48 per cent of all female cases, while Negro males were 36 per cent of the male cases. These are the facts. However, Negroes are not participants in organized crime. Their offenses are, generally, petty. The "contributing factors" are seldom presented along with the crime statistics. Such factors as bad housing, lack of economic opportunity, general disorganization of the community, and lack of health and recreational facilities have a high degree of correlation with the ills of the community. All breed tension areas where police brutality, maltreatment of colored service men, and ineffective execution of OPA regulations constantly furnish the flame for the tinder.

The police do not have a good record with the Negro community. Lest we forget, the recent Harlem riot, in which five persons were killed and several injured, flared out of what was rumored as police brutality against a Negro soldier in uniform.

Rumors have been circulated that Harlem has been declared "out



of bounds" for white soldiers. The Service Command has never acknowledged this, although the local press has carried stories indicating that such was the case. Many outsiders think of Harlem only as a playground and "hot spot" for pleasure-seekers; where a carefree people of much pigmentation carouse all night and tumble into bed early each morning for a few hours' sleep. As a matter of fact, the masses seem to know little about the various cabarets and other places of amusement operated to bring revenue to their owners.

Members of this community give considerable time to the cultural aspects of city life. Hardly is there more along this line offered anywhere than in New York City. From Broadway to Lenox Avenue, Negroes participate in activities provided for the general public as well as those which they themselves promote. They are patrons of the recognized arts as well as those not as yet so well recognized.

Churches and libraries dot the Negro neighborhoods and play an important part in conditioning behavior. Numerous community recreation and welfare organizations, staffed in part and sometimes wholly by Negroes, administer to the social-welfare needs of these people.

The white press of New York City has given moderate space to achievements of and events about Negroes. Criminal and asocial behavior were once always labeled by the identity of the culprit if he happened to be a Negro. Recently, the press agreed to refrain from mentioning the racial identity of Negroes committing asocial acts just as it has heretofore refrained from specifying whether criminals were Irish, or Jewish, or Italian, and so forth.

Approaches have been made to the solution of the various problems facing Negroes in New York City through State and City legislation. On the State level there are the Civil Rights Law, the "Little Wagner Act" and other enactments, decisions and orders prohibiting discrimination against racial and religious minorities.

To these, among others, was recently added a decision of the State Department of Education which eliminates the few remaining vestiges of segregation in the schools of the State, enforcing the intent of the State law. At the municipal level, there are several prohibitions relative to discrimination in employment and in services rendered by public, quasi-public, and private welfare agencies which receive grants from public funds. These, among other regulations, attempt to set the pattern that will facilitate equal participation of all persons in the cultural and economic life of the City.

There are many organizations which are attempting to grapple with the problems facing the Negroes of New York City. Some of these have been in the field for years; others are quite new. Among the older agencies with general programs which have served the Negro group are: Catholic Charities, Children's Aid Society, Community Service Society, Henry Street Visiting Nurses, Salvation Army, Welfare Council, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Girl Scouts, and Boy Scouts. All of these are interracial in their approach. The older agencies working, in the main, in Negro areas and among Negroes include: Hope Day Nursery, Hudson Avenue Boys Club, Katy Ferguson Home, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (and its local branches), the National Urban League (and its local affiliates—the New York and the Brooklyn Urban Leagues), and the Riverdale Orphan Asylum. These are also interracial in their administration and support.

The younger agencies, also, make a long list. The better known of this group, which are interracial, are: Consolidated Tenants League, City-Wide Citizens Committee on Harlem, Council for Democracy, Freedom House, Friendship House, Irish-American Committee on Interracial Justice, National Conference of Christians and Jews, National Negro Congress, Negro Labor Victory Committee, Pearl Buck Committee on Discrimination in Employment, Union for Democratic Action, and the Workers Defense

League. Among these are a few which are considered militant in their techniques as contrasted with the more conservative approach of some of those organizations mentioned earlier. The March-on-Washington Movement and the Harlem Labor Union are the best known groups which are attempting to work with an all-Negro structure.

Several special projects have been sponsored by the Board of Education, the courts, the Juvenile Welfare Council, the Health Department, and the Police Department. These, in the main, have been demonstrations; nevertheless, worth-while projects.

To give a set of procedures for adjusting problems of the Negro group is trying to make the matter much simpler than is possible. There are the long-range planners and those interested in immediate results; the conservatives and the liberals. Where they believe in the tenets of democracy, they are all working to bring the full benefits of citizenship to the Negro population. Within this limitation, all of their various programs are needed to do the colossal job at hand.

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## PROFILES: DETROIT

### Louis E. Martin

In recent months the city of Detroit has been the subject of comment and controversy. It has been variously described as "the arsenal of democracy" or the "capital of American fascism"—with practically every one agreeing that "Detroit is dynamite." Because of its great sprawling industries which have literally put America on wheels, it was inevitable that Detroit should play a major role in the winning of this highly mechanized war.

But Detroit is something of a paradox, for while it provides a thrilling illustration of American industrial genius, it also presents a depressing picture of social disorder which has often come very close to anarchy during the last three years. Some of this social confusion has been inspired by subversive elements and a great deal of it is inherent in the city's fast-growing, boom-town character.

From the ends of the earth the peasants and the backwoodsmen of many races and nationalities have come to Detroit by the hundreds of thousands to attempt a new life for themselves and their many children. They come to work with their hands and to sweat their way to prosperity by feeding vast furnaces and building giant machines with which to build still more machines *ad infinitum*. Hurriedly these various groups have been urbanized and have made their social adjustments with one another in the years between 1914 and Pearl Harbor. The least urbanized and the least assimilated group at the beginning of the present war was the Negroes. Since Pearl Harbor a half-million more people have come to Detroit and of these some 35,900 are Negroes and some 250,000 are whites from the hill country of the American South.

What little stability appeared to have been achieved prior to Pearl Harbor has now been shattered by the stresses incident to new tensions. Further, the assimilation of those various groups which came between 1914 and 1940 had never been thorough in the first place. Of the two million persons in this war center today, there are approximately 185,000 Negroes who have not been really integrated into the life of the metropolis and whose attempts at integration have been thwarted and, recently, violently rebuffed.

Social difficulties have been magnified by the war effort and latent anti-Negro prejudices have been accentuated by the sudden appearance of articulate southern whites who wherever they go carry their own undemocratic solution to the so-called Negro problem. Also, Detroit has become the headquarters for Gerald L. K.

Smith of Louisiana, Frank Norris of Texas, and hundreds of lesser philosophers of the Klan "way of life."

Two revolutions, it is commonly said, have taken place in Detroit in the last three decades: one resulted from the introduction of the technique of mass production in the auto industry and the other from the conquest of the auto industry by organized labor. Through mass-production processes begun in 1914, the motor industry had a fabulous expansion, providing jobs for hundreds of thousands of unskilled workers and swelling the city's population. To correct the human abuses of this system, the workers started their own revolution and changed Detroit, beginning in 1936, from an open-shop town to one of the strongest union towns in America.

This second revolution had a profound effect upon the Detroit Negro. First, he was a part of a militant, equalitarian movement which was successful and, second, he learned that thousands of whites were ready to extend equality for their mutual protection against exploitation. The masses of Negroes in no other large American city had higher hopes for a new deal than in Detroit at the beginning of this war.

### **War Brings Change**

At the beginning of the national defense program the so-called Negro problem in Detroit manifested itself sharply in the fields of employment, housing, and civil liberties. During peace times approximately 25,000 Negroes were employed in the auto industry and the majority of these were at the Ford Motor Company. They manned the foundries and in general were assigned the most arduous tasks with only a few skilled jobs open to them. A great many plants hired no Negroes at all and there were no Negro women workers in the entire industry.

After Pearl Harbor the manpower shortage and the pressures—governmental and civic—forced many of the industrialists to

modify their employment policies and hire available Negro labor. The struggle of the Negro people for fair employment practices, however, was not won easily and as late as the spring of 1943 less than 100 of the 30,000 women recruited into the factories were Negroes. Today, however, there are 200,000 women in the Detroit war plants and 13,000 of them are colored.

The hiring of thousands of Negroes and the upgrading of those who were trained and qualified gave rise to "hate strikes" by white workers who, despite the threat of expulsion from the union, insisted on keeping certain jobs "white." A fortnight before the race riot of June 20-23, one of the largest hate strikes during this war period closed the Packard plant for a week and over 20,000 war workers took a vacation.

In the field of housing the story of the Detroit Negro does not vary greatly from that of other large northern urban centers. Through neighborhood agreements and covenants in property deeds the Negro has been pocketed into the slums and when these dykes failed to contain Negro expansion, white mobs have risen to the occasion. Two of the most notable instances of mob action involved the Sweet Case of 1925 and the Sojourner Truth riot of 1942. Dr. Sweet was threatened by a mob at his home in a so-called white neighborhood; he shot into the crowd, killing a man. He was successfully defended by Clarence Darrow. The 200-unit Sojourner Truth project was fought by whites who charged that the Government was moving Negroes into a white neighborhood. Three men are under Federal indictment today for the part they played in organizing white resistance to the occupancy of the project by Negro war workers.

While mob action in these cases made national and international headlines, countless incidents of near-riot proportions have accompanied almost every step of Negro expansion into new areas in Detroit. In the twenties Dr. Turner, a prominent Negro physician,

was forced out of his home by whites and more recently Negro homes have been stoned and the lives of the occupants threatened. Several weeks following the riot of June of this year, one empty house which was for sale bore signs painted on the windows by hoodlums, "Niggers, Stay Out "

In the general field of civil liberties, the Detroit Negro a generation ago enjoyed considerable freedom and only a few public places would insult and refuse Negro patronage. With the coming of great numbers of Negroes, however, the liberal spirit of the town underwent a considerable change and the encroachment of new forms of Jim-Crowism are increasingly apparent. Negro servicemen are not excepted from such treatment. Under the Michigan Civil Rights statute a mounting number of suits has been filed. The white juries, however, show a great reluctance to convict those guilty of violations. The law provides for a fine and punishment as a misdemeanor.

A contributing factor to the general unrest in Detroit among both groups is the inadequacy of recreational facilities. The tensions occasioned by this lack are greater today because of the pressure of the war and the pent-up feeling of the people. There are fewer recreational facilities in Detroit than in any city of comparable size in the country. The hasty construction of homes during the war period as in other boom times has proceeded without benefit of any thoughtful planning for social needs.

Another factor in the current picture which magnifies the social problem is the breaking up of homes occasioned by the recruiting of women workers for factories. This has given rise to additional problems of juvenile delinquency and has created a cultural and educational void which the schools and social workers have not been able to fill. Many teen-age youths have got jobs with handsome salaries and they are giving a new leadership in antisocial conduct to their young crowds. Apart from the race issue these factors are a threat to the stability of any community.

### Solutions?

What have been the approaches to the solution of Detroit's problems? In the first place, the municipal government for years has been notably weak and shortsighted and the present city administration has moved only at the eleventh hour, when it has moved at all, to *correct the social situation*. Public confidence in the city government was severely damaged during the famous Graft Grand Jury trials of 1940 in which the former Mayor, three of the nine city councilmen, the prosecuting attorney, the county sheriff, the superintendent of police, scores of minor policemen and city officials were given jail sentences.

In some respects the city administration has spurned what help Washington might have given on the grounds that what happens in Detroit is Detroit's own business. This is notably true in the field of public housing. While Mayor La Guardia has wheedled everything out of Washington for the improvement of New York City, Mayor Jeffries has criticized what is called Washington's interference in local government. This attitude has been most damaging to Negro workers who stand to benefit from Federal public housing. There are thousands of white workers who would benefit almost as much.

The police department, which has increased difficulties in times of social strain, is undermanned and, according to leaders in both the Negro and white communities, woefully inefficient. Police brutality against Negroes has been an issue for the last ten years.

Since Pearl Harbor Negroes have been hired in ever increasing numbers by the municipally owned Detroit Street Railways and today Negro men and women are running busses and streetcars. The relaxations of the tacit color bars by the Detroit Civil Service Commission, however, may also be traced to the simple fact that somebody has to run the street railways; thus, the Negro has benefited by the manpower shortage.

Weak and vacillating leadership in government in a period of



crisis can be expected to multiply rather than diminish the social problems of any community. The community as a whole seems to share the confusion of the administration and save for the efforts of the U.A.W.-C.I.O., which is the dominant labor organization in the city, the liberal leadership of Detroit suffers from something close to paralysis. There are many interracial committees and the usual number of conferences which function almost in a vacuum, hardly ever influencing the rank and file of Detroit's perplexed citizenry. Under the pressure of revived Klan and "race" thinking in the community the majority of these liberals have found themselves on the defensive.

On the whole, the daily press has, as might be expected, echoed the sentiment of vested interests, who are interested in breaking the back of organized labor and restoring America to the reactionary wing of the Republican Party. Occasionally, *The Detroit Free Press* essays the role of a crusader but it, too, has been as erratic as Mayor Jeffries and no one dares predict what it may do next.

By contrast the Negro community is a reasonably well-knit working whole. The Negroes know that the home-grown and imported fascists are determined to split Detroit wide open on the race issue and they know, too, that their backs are against the wall. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Detroit Citizen's Committee, and the Negro press have constituted the spearhead of the Negro community's drive for a greater share of jobs, housing, and civil liberty. These groups have been supported in these struggles by many white labor unionists and to some extent by the traditional liberals.

Many have sought to explain the Sojourner Truth riot in 1942 and the riot of June 1943 as the natural reaction of whites against the "new" and "militant" drive of Negroes to win new gains during this war period. More serious students of the problem have put the emphasis on the machinations of fifth columnists and native fascists who would seize control of this arsenal of the Allies, the key city in

the battle of production against the Axis. Both points of view have great merit and neither can be ignored by those who are seriously concerned with creating something constructive and democratic out of the chaos which is Detroit.

### **Present Prospects**

Racial tensions are greater today than at any period in the history of the city. The wounds of the riot in which thirty-four citizens were killed on the city streets have been reopened by the most vicious mayoralty campaign of any city above the Mason-Dixon line since the Civil War. Mayor Jeffries opened the attack along race lines in his campaign following a setback in the primary election in which Negroes and organized labor gave his opponent, Judge Frank Fitzgerald, an overwhelming majority. Despite the efforts of some of the labor leaders to hold the rank and file of white workers in line, many of them were affected by the race-baiting and broke the traces to vote for Jeffries. The Negro vote was unusually large and solid and the Negro candidate for Common Council received the largest number of votes ever received by a Negro candidate although he lost. There is left much to be desired in the matter of labor union solidarity. Until labor is able to defeat such attempts to divide its ranks, it will not win the political prestige and influence it seeks.

Despite the racial unrest and all the sound and fury of the election which unfortunately followed the riot much too soon, the Negroes have made some positive gains in the city, particularly in employment. Here again, however, the gains have resulted more from the manpower shortage than from any planning or voluntary change in the attitudes of employers.

Immediately following the riot there was a feeling of moral revulsion among many of the Detroit civic leaders, committees began pressing for the rehabilitation of the slums in which Negroes live. They knew that the conditions under which Negroes work and live were basic causes of their unrest and explained their participation in

the rioting. The reform spirit, however, has been thwarted by the difficulty of securing men and materials for any large rehabilitation program.

Following the riot the Negro community launched various campaigns for cooperation and good will. The more conservative Negro leadership began to bring the more belligerent individuals under control through mass meetings and "good conduct" campaigns. Neither the Negro nor the white leadership, however, has been able to do anything about the basic causes of unrest. On the other hand, the anti-Negro elements in the city have seized the offensive during the interim to keep racial feeling at a high pitch.

As one reviews developments in Detroit today, it appears that the Negro has lost ground during the war period despite the surface gains in employment, etc. The "southern mind-set" has become dominant in the city and the "solution" which seems most acceptable to the white majority is the Jim-Crow pattern of the South.

In the July 1943 issue of *The Cross and the Flag*, Gerald L. K. Smith asserts that:

Most white people will not agree to (1) intermarriage of blacks and whites; (2) mixture of blacks and whites in hotels; (3) mixture of blacks and whites in restaurants; (4) intimate relationships between blacks and whites in the school system; (5) wholesale mixture of blacks and whites in residential sections; (6) promiscuous mixture of blacks and whites in streetcars and on trains, especially where black men are permitted to sit down and crowd close to white women and vice versa. I have every reason to believe black women resent being crowded by white men on street cars and elsewhere. (7) Promiscuous mixture of blacks and whites in factories, especially where black men are mixed with white women closely in daily work.

Smith is listened to by many thousands of Detroiters and he is but one of a number of strong pro-fascist leaders in Detroit today.

The most hopeful force in the community in the field of race relations is organized labor and the inroads of racism in the unions

have been serious in the last year. There is still some hope that the liberals, who have been eclipsed since the riot of June 20, may re-assert themselves and, with the active cooperation of Negroes and others apprehensive over the future of Detroit, may dispel the diabolic influence of enemy and antidemocratic forces which are yet hopeful of controlling this arsenal of the Allies.

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## PROFILES: BALTIMORE

Edward S. Lewis

Baltimore is not a northern city, strictly speaking, since it is located below the historic Mason and Dixon line. But, Baltimoreans, white and black, do not identify themselves with the South, except on rare occasions, and to all intents and purposes the "Monumental City" is "up North." One reason for this anomaly can be explained by the fact that the industrial development of Baltimore before and since the war has definitely followed the pattern of northern industrial centers.

Although the migration of Negro workers from southern agrarian areas in Virginia, North and South Carolina, and West Virginia to the City of Baltimore during World War I was noticeable, it was not to be compared with that of cities like Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and New York. The Negro population in these cities has doubled and in some cases tripled between 1910 and 1940.

But the chief source of concern of the City fathers during recent years has been the fact that the Negro population of Baltimore has increased faster than that of the white population. In 1920 Negroes represented 14.8 per cent of the City's total population; in 1930 they reached a 100-year high of 19.3 per cent. The Negro population of

Baltimore City increased by 16.7 per cent between 1930 and 1940, compared with a gain of but 4.6 per cent in the City's white population.

Politically, economically, and socially the presence of this Negro population affects Baltimore. Its presence colors the whole life of the City, and influences both public and private thinking.

During the depression thirties the disproportionate number of Negroes on the relief rolls as compared to their total in the population was a constant topic for "downtown" conversations, and the directors of the Emergency Relief Administration were continually prodded by the press for a racial breakdown on relief. The present director of the City Department of Public Welfare, Judge Thomas J. S. Waxter, pointed out more than once in special articles and interviews in the *Sun* papers that Baltimore's Negro relief problems were small in comparison with other northern cities, and he also emphasized the fact that the essential reason for the disproportionate numbers of Negroes on relief rolls was that of employment discrimination.

The pressure of the Negro population in Baltimore, however, has only become acute during the past two years with the entrance of an estimated 34,200 in-migrant workers into the City. Naturally these new workers had to find houses to live in, and that is where the "rub" came in no uncertain terms.

In March 1942 the National Housing Agency through the WPA made a sample study of vacancies in dwelling units of Baltimore. The gross vacancy rates were 0.9 per cent among dwellings for white occupancy and only 0.2 per cent among those available for Negroes. Few of the vacancies in Negro neighborhoods were for rent. Obviously, the nonexistence of living space in the face of unprecedented expansion of war industries was bound to precipitate a crisis.

The Government stepped into the emergency and proposed through the Federal Public Housing Authority to build a war

housing project for in-migrant Negro workers at Herring Run. The site had been selected by the City Plan Commission in consultation with housing officials.

A storm of protest from white residents in and out of the area and from real-estate interests, civic and political groups, broke forth and blocked the project. The vacillation of City, State, and National Government officials on this issue has become a public scandal, and has completely stymied any progressive solution of the housing problem in Baltimore. Ironically enough Herring Run would only accommodate several hundred Negro war families, and would only be one step in the right direction.

The larger issue at stake is the orderly expansion of the Negro population into contiguous areas. A look at an ecological map of Baltimore will indicate that Negroes live in every section of the City. Whenever they attempt to move into areas adjacent to those in which they reside, they are hemmed in by restrictive covenants and neighborhood pacts. Furthermore, when Negroes seek to live on vacant land areas or even when the Government selects such sites, the opposition, which is backed by powerful political action, prevents any constructive move.

It is this hopeless dilemma that has placed Baltimore on the list of critical cities where a race riot may break at any moment. If it does come, the housing impasse can be put down as the number one cause.

### War Industries

The break-through of more than twenty thousand Negro workers into Baltimore's 110 war industries since 1940 is a drama of epic proportions. It seems a far cry from Mr. Glenn L. Martin's testimony before the Congressional Committee on Inter-State Migration problems in 1941. He, at that time, insisted that he could not employ Negro workers in his plant because all of the white skilled

workers would walk out. But in a recent radio broadcast he paid high tribute to the several thousand Negro workers now employed in this plant who are carrying on countless skilled operations involved in assembling the famous Martin Bomber.

By the same token, the Bartlett Hayward Koppers Division, manufacturers of gun carriages, and the General Electric plant officials could tell how their plants emerged from the zero position, so far as Negro employment was concerned, to the point where they have a thousand or more Negro skilled workers in many departments.

Shipbuilding and steel industries also have their complement of Negro workers, and they are no longer confined entirely to hazardous unskilled jobs. In fact, it is an open secret that Baltimore's war employers have in recent months taken real pride in pointing out that the integration process has worked in their plants with a minimum of friction. Indeed, there has been evidence of rivalry between them to see who could claim first credit. This development can be put on the plus side of the ledger.

The negative factors in the equation cannot be overlooked and are everywhere apparent. Token employment in some Baltimore war plants is a stark fact. Training facilities for potential Negro war workers have been inferior from the start, and the educational authorities have only yielded inch by inch under relentless pressure of organizations like the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to improve the facilities and quality of training offered. In-plant training facilities for Negroes have been almost nonexistent and upgrading of Negro workers has become the acid test for employers and some unions. A near riot broke out at the Fairfield Bethlehem Shipbuilding Plant because of the upgrading of Negro welders and both the company and the C.I.O. local were vulnerable on this issue.

Since the negative side of the union question has been mentioned,

we might turn to a brief consideration of the positive side of the trade-union picture in Baltimore because there have been several significant developments that need appraisal.

When the Steel Workers Organizing Committee cracked the steel industry at Sparrow's Point and won the election, after many unsuccessful attempts, it opened the way to the organization of thousands of white and colored workers into the same locals. Colored organizers were used effectively in the campaign and these men had the support of the best civic and church leadership in Baltimore. Negro workers were elected to key posts and they have become a permanent factor in top leadership of C.I.O. steel unions. Negro workers are no longer shunted aside but are being taken in by newly formed C.I.O. locals in all major war industries.

The American Federation of Labor in Baltimore has become much more sensitive to discriminatory practices in its local unions. Genuine progress has been made in meeting this issue. Local 544 of Brotherhood of Carpenters was organized by the writer shortly before the Fort Meade construction job got under way. One hundred seventy-five Negro carpenters were employed on this job. This union, which started on a borrowed one hundred fifty dollars from an Urban League Board member, and from ten fellow workers, has jumped to a roster of over 500. The painters won a tough fight and were finally accepted in Local 101 of the Painters Union. Similarly the bricklayers, electricians, plasterers, and cement finishers have won recognition and the right to participate in these A. F. of L. craft unions.

Under the leadership of Harry Cohen, President of the Baltimore Federation of Labor, Negro members have been placed on all key committees of the Central Trade Union Council. There is not another Federation in the country that can show better Negro representation than Baltimore.

Another significant move involving not only A.F.of L. and C.I.O., but also the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, was the



endorsement and support of a Negro member of the Motion Picture Operators Union for the position as delegate to Maryland's Assembly. This was the first time in the history of Maryland that organized labor had done such a thing. Although the nominee did not win, an important educational job was done on both sides of the fence.

### Police Brutality

One of the problems which the Negro community of Baltimore gets wrought up about is that of police brutality. A total of 14 Negroes have been killed by police officers since 1930 and nine of these killings occurred after the induction of Police Commissioner Stanton. Not a single policeman was brought to trial on these cases and the temper of Baltimore Negro citizens has steadily grown worse.

On February 1, 1942, Patrolman Edward R. Bender killed Private Thomas E. Broadus as the result of an argument about a taxi cab. Bender shot Broadus in the back and killed him while he was running from the scene of a brawl.

The news of a white cop killing a Negro soldier spread like the burning of dead grass in autumn. Soon the whole Negro community was aroused. Meanwhile the Grand Jury heard a few witnesses and found a presentment of lawful homicide, but a few days later the Grand Jury rescinded its action. It was this final action that capped the climax. A tremendous mass meeting was called by the newly organized Citizens Committee for Justice which included over 110 civic, labor, church, and welfare groups. The meeting was held prior to a March on Annapolis and was addressed by militant Adam Powell of New York City.

On April 24, 1942, more than 2,000 Negro citizens descended upon Annapolis and presented the following demands:

1. Investigation of the police administration in the Negro areas of Baltimore
2. Appointment of Negro police officers in uniform

3. Negro representation on all State institutions operated for Negroes
4. Official support for Executive Order 8802

Carl Murphy, President of the Afro-American, led this protest demonstration and there is no doubt but that the conduct of the hearing and the "dead-pan" seriousness of 2,000 Negroes in the State House made a tremendous impression on the Governor.

In May 1942, Governor O'Connor appointed a Commission on Problems Affecting the Negro Population to make an official investigation. The findings of this body confirmed the basis for the original demands and constructive recommendations were made in a report issued in March 1943.

Since that time there has been some progress made on the police problems listed in the grievances of the Citizens Committee. Three Negro policemen have finally put on uniforms and it is reported that a fourth policeman will be added to the force—a good *beginning!*

No discussion of racial tensions in Baltimore would be complete without at least the bare mention of discriminatory practices in department stores. With one exception, all of the first-class department stores are Jewish-owned, and that fact arouses additional antagonisms in the Negro community. Some gentile groups with axes to grind connive to play both ends against the middle. The department-store muddle continues to stand out like a sore thumb.

Organizationally speaking, Baltimore's Negro community has been making real strides ahead. The Citizens Committee for Justice, Council of Negro Organizations, Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and church groups are in every play when there are critical issues or knotty discrimination problems to be solved. There has been real unity of action present in the projects that have been cited, and there is a growing tendency to recognize the importance of "grand strategy" in planning pressure or educational campaigns. Had it not been for the work of this kind that is going on, Baltimore probably would

already have had a race riot that would equal or surpass Detroit, New York, or Los Angeles.

Baltimore is singularly fortunate in having one of the best Negro weekly newspapers in the country—*The Afro-American*. This medium has close working relationships with all civic, welfare, and labor groups in the City. Although there may be sharp differences of opinion on the part of leaders or organizations in Baltimore, when the crisis comes, they do rally together around a common point. The *Sun* papers have done several good feature stories and editorials on such subjects as workers in war industries and the Negro police question.

Baltimore's Negro community is in many respects an interesting study in contrasts. The patterns of segregation and Jim-Crow that characterize southern cities are present, but do not dominate the scene. There are liberal and progressive forces at work here that have definitely challenged the status quo in industry, education, politics, and in housing. More than fifteen thousand Negro and white citizens recently assembled in Druid Hill Park to hear Paul Robeson sing and Lester Granger speak on the subject, "Unity for Victory." Such a meeting in New York or Chicago is not news, but in Baltimore it portends a gleam of hope for better race relations if democracy is given a fighting chance to function.

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## WHAT THE NORTHERN NEGRO THINKS ABOUT DEMOCRACY

L. D. Reddick

"When it comes to the way the Negro is treated, the only difference between the North and the South is the weather." These are the words of a southern-born Negro clergyman of Brooklyn, New York. This view, usually less colorfully expressed, is frequently shared by visitors, in-migrants, and news commentators who are often surprised and shocked by the manifestations of race prejudice in the North.

Anti-Negro prejudice is considerable in the northern States but it is inaccurate to conclude that the position of the Negro and his struggle for "rights" are identical in all sections of the American nation. On this point there are at least four basic differences between "the North" and "the South," using these terms in a general and loose fashion. In the North:

1. The law is on the Negro's side in his fight for equal rights.
2. The Negro is not disfranchised
3. There is no pro-slavery, "lost cause," "terrible Reconstruction days" tradition.
4. The general social and intellectual development is comparatively higher.

The mere absence of Jim-Crow laws on the statute books of northern States is only part of this story. Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin have Civil Rights Acts which declare that "all persons within the jurisdiction of the state shall be entitled to full and equal accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges" at public places. Some of the New England States may not face problems that require such laws.

The ballot gives the northern Negro a powerful weapon which his southern brother does not yet possess, fully. In close election contests the "Negro vote" may prove decisive. Furthermore, Negroes run for office, sometimes get elected, and thereby have an even more direct influence in government. There are about two dozen Negro members of State legislatures in the United States. Most of these, as to be expected, are in the North.

The "southern" tradition of the good old days "when white folks wuz white folks and darkies knew their place" is, of course, largely romantic wish-fulfillment, projected into the past. More than a score of historians have shown, in fact, that those days never existed. Nevertheless, the myth, especially when it is tangled up with present hopes and fears in the minds of white southerners, furnishes one of the principal psychological barriers to the acceptance of higher status for Negroes. Happily, there exists no such tradition in the North. On the contrary, in some communities the antislavery tradition is remembered. Here more often than not, the descendants of abolitionists and local historians fail to translate the pre-Civil War Abolition crusade into the current drive for social justice.

It is too obvious to require statistical documentation that the "cultural" level is higher in the North than in the South. This is true in terms of books produced, bought or read, as well as in the per capita distribution of schools, colleges, libraries, museums, forums, theaters, learned and literary societies, and periodicals. In a word the North is richer, more industrialized and urbanized, and, accordingly, is better educated, more labor-union conscious, "progressive," "liberal," and sophisticated. This is the general pattern. There are, naturally, notable exceptions.

These four social forces—the law, the ballot, tradition, and "cultural liberalism"—condition the environment in which race relations take place in the North. Moreover, these are powerful instruments which the Negro finds useful in his advancement. They make it possible for the "Negro struggle" to take the same form of

all of the other classic struggles for democracy in this country. There is opposition—often bitter and terrible. Nevertheless, there remain, always, the direct appeals to the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States (including the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments), Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, and existing laws. The fight for equality is legal; *i.e.*, it is within the law. The weapons are those used by any other disadvantaged group within the society. The "Negro struggle" is not isolated; it is part of the general ferment. Labor, women, the foreign born, and the Negro—all follow the same basic pattern in their efforts to achieve full status.

### What the Negro Wants

It is strange that no one has taken the trouble to trace the effect of these social facts on Negro thought. To be sure, any study of a single tributary to the stream of public thinking is difficult. The method requires great care and usually the sources are scattered. This is true in the present instance. However, there is at hand a sufficiently extensive file of proceedings of conferences, reports of mass meetings, pamphlets, leaflets, speeches, correspondence, as well as newspapers, magazines, and books to suggest the shape of the current thought of the Negro about democracy. Conversations with various leaders and the mass-opinion polls supplement the evidence of the other "sources." Overt behavior such as the Harlem riot against property also reveals social attitudes.

The ultimate goals of the northern Negro are the same as those of all other men everywhere: health, security, adventure, prestige, and what might be called the good things of the society. In a more particular sense the northern Negro, like his southern brother, wants the elimination of the "race differential" from the social order. He wants to be treated "like everybody else." Unavoidably, his drive is the drive for equality—economic, political, social, and cultural. The northern Negro knows this and bases his campaign upon this major premise.

The northern Negro leader, therefore, is able to employ a simple strategy. He rallies his own people and joins with and further mobilizes all progressive elements in the society who believe in the American ideals of freedom, equality, and security. Because of the different social environment the southern Negro leader's task is more difficult. He cannot pitch his battle on this high plane. Instead, he must postpone the contest for certain rights or conceal his thought in the language of "double-talk." Some of his carefully phrased statements, with a certain emphasis, may be interpreted as one thing to one group and, with another emphasis, as something different to a second group. As a case in point, the "Charter" of the Negroes of New York<sup>1</sup> may be compared with the "Southern Charter of Race Relations."<sup>2</sup> The language of the New Yorkers is direct and unequivocal. Their demands simply and absolutely are for the same rights enjoyed by others. The southern Negro leaders, in contrast, carefully avoid the issue of racial segregation and emphasize pressing for the immediate attainment of what is "sensible" and "timely."

It is charged that white "southern liberals," from time to time, attempt to drive a wedge between southern and northern Negro leadership. Thus, Jonathan Daniels has written what others have said:

It seems to me, nevertheless, that there is needed a Negro leadership in the South able to speak in it without fear that they will be denounced as Uncle Toms for facing the practical facts which confront and surround real people—even with the courage to face being called Uncle Toms if necessary—in order that the Negro's progress may be among people and not merely on paper.<sup>3</sup>

Occasionally, a conservative southern Negro leader seems to fol-

<sup>1</sup> See *The People's Voice*, December 12, 1942.

<sup>2</sup> This "Durham Statement" of October 20, 1942, has been endorsed by the "Atlanta Statement" of white southerners; a joint group of Negro and white southerners collaborated on the "Richmond Statement" of June 16, 1943. All published by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Atlanta, Georgia.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in *The Star of Zion*, January 1, 1942, from *The Southern Frontier*.

low this suggestion. Dr. F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee has been quoted as saying:

We are asking for a lot of things that are not of immediate importance though they aim at noteworthy ideals. One that is of apparent import to a lot of people is that we should be integrated in companies and regiments with white soldiers, claiming that the discrimination of the nation's colored soldiers on the grounds of color and race is a breach of democratic procedure.

All that is admirable, but what we should be concerned with at the moment is an opportunity to serve in any capacity.<sup>4</sup>

*The Chicago Defender* and other northern Negro newspapers promptly drove Dr. Patterson to cover. Said the *Defender*.

It is to be regretted that so harmful and indefensible a view should be given public hearing precisely at the time when the black masses everywhere are struggling for the extension of democratic procedure. If abolition of segregation and discrimination whether in the army, the navy or anywhere else is "not of immediate importance" to the Negro, what else is? . . .

President Patterson should devote his attention to the educational activities of his school and keep quiet on national matters about which he can exercise neither proper discretion nor judgment.<sup>5</sup>

Vigorous southern Negro newspapers such as *The Black Dispatch* of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, appear to agree with *The Chicago Defender*.

The immediate objectives of the northern Negro seem to center about the questions of employment, housing, civil rights, democracy in the armed forces, and racial slander. Here the goals are:

- 1 Equal access to employment opportunities
2. Equal access to adequate housing
- 3 Full civil liberty
4. An end to Jim-Crow in the armed forces
5. An end to anti-Negro propaganda and ridicule

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in *The Chicago Defender*, April 5, 1941

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*



These five objectives may be restated in terms of the problems involved.

The acute manpower shortage has eased the extreme pressure which made discrimination in employment the number one problem among Negroes, North and South. Even Negro women are gradually getting their chance in fields other than domestic service. Still, the literature reveals deep concern over discrimination in job training programs, placement, wages, upgrading, and access to labor-union membership. There is a steadily increasing focus on the question of "what will happen *after* the war."

In some respects the housing problem is more pressing than any other just now. Many persons who seem not to object to working with Negroes refuse to live in the same apartments or neighborhoods with them. The intense conflict over the Sojourner Truth Homes for Negroes in Detroit is only the most sensational of similar conflicts in almost every large city. The announcement that "Stuyvesant Town" in New York City, a low-cost housing venture sponsored by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, would bar Negroes as tenants raised a storm of protest. In addition to the chronic inadequacy of housing facilities generally, Negroes often face restrictive property owners' agreements, higher rents, and open opposition to their sharing in Government-sponsored projects.

Despite the absence of Jim-Crow laws, Negroes in certain areas of the North are not infrequently denied access to hotels, restaurants, theaters, auditoriums, schools, and other public institutions. Local opinion is often pro-segregationist. In some of these communities Negroes by default or habit avoid certain districts where they feel that they are not wanted. Police brutality is an almost universal complaint. In the Detroit riots of June 20-23 of the 25 Negroes who were killed 17 died from bullets fired from the guns of municipal policemen. The Ku Klux Klan, the National Workers League, the Southern Society, and the Committee of One Million are some of the bet-

ter known organizations that stir racial antagonisms. Many anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, or anti-labor groups are also anti-Negro.

The segregation and maltreatment of Negro soldiers is, of course, a "national" issue. The resentment of the northern Negro may be more intense than that of his southern brother, for often the northerner is separated from his school chums or fellow workers, who happen to be white, when he is inducted into the Army. Moreover, most of the Army training camps are in the South. This subjects the northern Negro trainee to the "southern way of life" as expressed by local officials and civilian gangs. Northern Negro speakers and writers frequently refer to the high percentage of southerners in Army and Navy officialdom. There are many stories of the disinclination on the part of the military to train or employ Negro combat units. Negro women may join the segregated divisions of the WAC. As yet there are no known Negro women in the WAVES and SPARS. The spark that set off the Harlem riot of August 1-2 was the shooting of a Negro soldier by a policeman.

The northern Negro is particularly sensitive to such derogatory terms as "nigger," "pickaninny," and "darky." His resentment is similar to that of other groups when such terms as "wop," "poor white trash," and "chink" are applied to them. In formal social intercourse, terms of politeness like "Miss," "Mrs.," and "Mr." are expected instead of "southernisms" such as "Uncle," "Aunt," or "Reverend" when no relative or clergyman is involved. Anti-Negro motion pictures, radio programs, plays, books, and news stories, which hold up the Negro to ridicule and contempt, are looked upon as creators of psychological barriers to public acceptance of the Negro as a man and his fight for his "rights" as a perfectly normal human endeavor. On the other hand, all Negroes agree that the diffusion of knowledge of "Negro history and culture" would not only enrich the appreciation of American and world "culture" but would demonstrate the worth of those who seek equal opportunities and obligations.

### **Ideology and Technique**

The discussions which revolve around these five "immediate objectives" almost invariably include, by implication at least, the philosophy of the method to be used in achieving these ends. This ideological thought process may be divided into four stages.

The first stage in the broad plan of social action is to mobilize the Negro people. In addition to the normal human and perhaps peculiarly American inertia and frustration, one finds among Negroes the persistence of that pre-political disposition of the peasant who is still imperfectly urbanized. Certain national organizations take the lead in overcoming this difficulty and setting the masses in motion. These organizations unite upon the objective, though they stage the usual contests for power among themselves and manifest somewhat different orientations. Thus, the National Negro Congress is orientated toward organized labor, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People toward the middle classes, and the March-on-Washington Movement toward the unorganized Negro masses. Especially interesting in this field are the local social-action organizations such as the Peoples Committee of New York, the Future Outlook League of Cleveland, the Vanguard League of Columbus, and the Civic Rights Committee of Detroit. With such leaders as the Reverend Adam Powell, Jr., John O. Holley, and Snow F. Grigsby, these organizations are often more aggressive than the larger national bodies.

The second stage in the process of mobilization is to enlist other-than-Negro support in the fight for Negro rights. In this sense, what the North thinks about democracy for the Negro is of more importance than what the Negro thinks about democracy. The northern Negro realizes this and that his fight is only one phase of the larger fight for democratic rights for all. Accordingly, he co-operates with and expects cooperation from labor and religious groups as well as from other racial minorities. Despite evidences of

anti-Semitism among Negroes and anti-Negroism among Jews, efforts are being made to effect united counteroffensives against anti-minority attacks. Throughout the North there are more than three-score citizens' committees dedicated to the prevention of racial conflict and to the promotion of good will. Some of these committees have been appointed by mayors or governors. Others are voluntary associations.

The third stage in the large effort is to generalize the struggle on a national scale. Thus, the northern Negro fights against lynching and political disfranchisement, though these are essentially "southern evils." Furthermore, some of the problems in the North such as Jim-Crow in the armed forces cannot be dealt with other than on a national basis. Again, the Fair Employment Practice Committee is the national approach to the employment question. There is a growing support for a Federal Fair Practice Act outlawing racial discrimination. In one sense, the northern Negro regards himself as the spokesman for his southern brother, who is not always free to express his views. After all, most of the northern Negroes of today were southern born. As refugees from the South their behavior pattern is similar to that of refugees from the fascist and semifascist areas of Europe.

The fourth and final stage of this mobilization process is the statement of the struggle for Negro rights in terms of a world view: (1) The Negro on all occasions repeats that he is willing to fight and die for democracy, if he can fight and die on terms of equality "like everybody else." (2) Unity at home is deemed essential to victory abroad. Not the Negro but those who would prevent him from all-out participation in the working and fighting activities of the nation are the "real enemies" of national unity (3) The northern Negro seems to have developed a definitely international outlook. He is deeply interested in what goes on all over the world. He knows about the successful "racial policy" of the Soviet Union; is openly sympathetic toward the struggle of India for independence and of

China for national equality, gives a sly wink at the success of the Japanese in demonstrating that a "colored nation" can master the techniques of modern warfare and propaganda; is somewhat distrustful of the intentions of the empire states of Europe. Moreover, he is deeply concerned about what is happening to the black folk of Africa and the West Indies. Ethiopia, Liberia, and Haiti are all symbols. The Constitution recently granted to the people of Jamaica has been hailed at meetings in New York, Chicago, and Boston. Many writers and speakers have insisted that the Atlantic Charter be applied to Africa. The war for freedom, it is held, should really be a war for freedom for all peoples. The distribution of Negro immigrants and students from Africa and the West Indies through certain northern cities gives added impetus to this general impulse.

The campaign of social action implicit in these four concentric phases of Negro thought utilizes the well-known modern techniques of protest, picket, boycott, mass demonstration, personal contact, and political action. Detroit furnishes an example of effective alliance between the Negro and labor. The National Urban League is carrying on a campaign of "hold your job" which attempts to make less temporary the positions Negroes are now gaining in industrial employment. New York City with its six judges, appointed and elected, three Negroes in the State legislature, Negro councilman, and large plans for sending a Negro to the United States Congress is perhaps now on a plane with Chicago as an example of political action in a northern city. Ben Davis, Jr., Negro Communist elected to the New York City Council, received majorities in all Harlem districts. This is another demonstration of the maturing of the Negro voter; party labels as such are considered less important than issues and men. More definite steps are being taken to clarify and enforce the Civil Rights Acts of the various States. Carl Hansberry of Illinois has prepared a handbook on what to do when violations of the act are encountered. Similar handbooks are being prepared for other States.

More than ever, the northern Negro seems to be realizing that the minds of the American people must be changed before he will ever secure his rights. The resistance to the "advancement of the Negro" which has been built up in the public mind through stereotype and propaganda will have to be dissolved by education and counter-propaganda. This is why the fight against racial slander is of such importance and why the introduction of Negro history and culture into the course of study for Chicago public schools has received such praise and emulation in other communities. There are more than two dozen courses on Negro life and history or race relations in northern schools and colleges. Some of these are taught by Negro teachers. Of equal importance is the fact that in a few communities Negro teachers are assigned as teachers, not as "Negro teachers," and actually instruct classes which contain few, if any, Negro pupils. There is in New York City a recently organized committee for cultural democracy that will seek to influence the portrayal of the Negro by the newspaper, radio, stage, and screen. More attention is now given to the private and public collections of Negro literature and art.

Summarily, it may be contended that the northern Negro in his social thought reveals himself as an American and potential citizen of the world—American in the sense that his dream and his statement of his blueprint for realizing Utopia are typically American in content and form. Surrounding this faith are the recurrent inertias, doubts, fears, overoptimisms, and frustrations which may be found in all corners of the social order. As a rather sophisticated citizen, the urbanized Negro with his eyes on world events and a deep identification with struggling humanity everywhere may yet lead the American nation to a broader and deeper approach to human relations.

## CRITICAL SUMMARY

E. Franklin Frazier

The migration of hundreds of thousands of Negroes from the rural South during and following the First World War marked a turning point in the Negro problem in the United States. This was not due simply to the fact that the problem was no longer sectional and had become national in scope. In creating large Negro communities in the North, the migrations changed the nature of the Negro problem. In the South, the Negro had become accommodated more or less to a subordinate status and race relations were regulated by custom and tradition. Within the rural areas, a folk culture embodied the aspirations and outlook on life of the black masses. The migrations to the highly urbanized areas of the North freed the Negro from customary practices in race relations and awakened new aspirations and hopes. The Negro problem began to assume the character of other minority racial problems. In fact, the Negro problem has become a part of one of the most important problems of the modern world; namely, that of welding diverse races within urbanized communities into a single social or moral order. The present war, which has become a struggle between two ideologies, has emphasized the new phase of the Negro problem that was ushered in during the First World War. It is with this new aspect of the Negro problem in the United States that the special issue of *THE JOURNAL* is concerned.

In Dr. Reddick's article we have an excellent analysis of the status and outlook of the northern Negro as contrasted with the status and attitude of the southern Negro in his struggle for equality in the *American community*. As Dr. Reddick has shown, the struggle in the North has assumed a different form because the Negro has on his side the law, the use of the ballot, the absence of a tradition of racial subordination, and "cultural liberalism" in the treatment of diverse races. Taking account of the difference in the status

and circumstances of the northern Negro, the author contrasts the "Charter of New York Negroes" with the charter of southern Negroes and analyzes the effects of the social environment of the North upon the thinking and outlook of the Negroes. From the standpoint of a historical analysis, Dr. Reddick has given a satisfactory account of some of the important changes which have taken place. However, only a social-psychological analysis would reveal the changes in the "mentality" of the Negro which have resulted from living in the urban environment. Perhaps no group in the United States today provides a more fertile field for the study of the consequences of the secularization of the thinking and the outlook on life of a peasant group than the Negro masses from the South. These changes in the habits and thinking of the transplanted black peasants are important factors in the practical problem of integrating the Negro into new urban society.

The articles of the other contributors provide a documentation and, to some extent, an analysis and interpretation of the status of the northern Negro. While Dr. Banner's article on New York City shows the considerable extent to which Negroes have been employed by the municipality, it reveals the low plane of living of the black masses, discrimination in employment, inadequate housing facilities, and racial conflicts involving the police. Whether these facts are or are not known to the readers of this JOURNAL, the present writer is of the opinion that they should have been interpreted in terms of the changing status of the Negro in the urban environment. In an article on the Negro in New York City, one is primarily interested in knowing how the pattern of race relations is related to the social and economic organization of the largest and most secular urban community in America. A similar statement might be made in regard to Mr. Lewis's splendid summary statement concerning the Negro in Baltimore. Although he has presented the important "facts" concerning the Negro in Baltimore, we would still like to know how these "facts" concerning the Negro in a



border city are related to the status and problems of the Negro in American life. This, we feel, Mr. Martin has come nearer to accomplishing in his interpretative account of the Negro in Detroit. He has related the racial conflict to the boom-town character of the city and the organization of labor and the mass-production character of industry. The Sweet Case of 1925 and the Sojourner Truth housing affair in 1942 are related by him to the processes of adjustment of the Negro to the urban environment of the North. Nor is he unmindful of the ideological character of the struggle which is related to the conflict of ideologies in the present world conflict. In the Chicago "profile," Mr. Drake has presented an excellent sociological analysis of the conflict and the accommodation of the Negro in the urban North. Within a few pages he has condensed a wealth of fundamental knowledge of the essential social and economic factors causing the racial tensions in Chicago. One of the chief contributions of his article is that it undertakes to show the steps by which the Negro may be integrated into the larger community.

On the whole, this special issue is an important contribution to the literature on the Negro. It is significant because it is a statement of the Negro problem by competent Negroes who, though living in the North, are acquainted with the larger aspects of the problem. But, perhaps, more important still, the articles provide a concise analysis and documentation of a critical stage in the accommodation or the assimilation of the Negro in the American community. Its valuable classified bibliography on the Negro in the cities of the North will enable the serious reader to decide for himself whether the conclusions of the contributors are valid.

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## CRITICAL SUMMARY

Algernon D. Black

This issue should be of great interest to all those who want to understand Negro-white relations in this critical period of American history.

When the Negro moved from slavery to freedom there were many white people who thought that this meant the end of the world. For them, Abolitionists, "Northerners," and Abe Lincoln symbolized evil; the whole system of life, including their own security and prestige, seemed to be threatened. So, also, in this present period, the movement of the Negro across the pattern of the caste system seems to some people to be the end of the world. To such minds the security and prestige of white people are threatened by the efforts of the Negro to move up to a status of true equality and full participation in American life.

Those who resist this breaking down of the Jim-Crow pattern think of Negro leadership, Mrs. Roosevelt, and white progressive forces—who advocate the abolition of discrimination, segregation, and the poll tax—as the human embodiment of evil. They refuse to see that the conflicts and problems of race relations today are not due to any individual or group, but are part of a national reconstruction of democratic life and part of a global revolution in the relations of the colored and white peoples of the earth. The movement of the Negro to the North is expressive of the Negro's basic desire for true educational opportunity for his children and real vocational opportunity for himself in that part of America where he can live without humiliating frustration.

These articles, written by men who have been participant-observers in Chicago, Detroit, New York, and Baltimore, reveal a common pattern. It is not so much militant race prejudice among the white people of the North that causes the trouble as it is widespread ignorance and indifference. Some of the people of our northern communities have been victims of an education that makes men

look at one another as stereotypes—an education that leaves men unconcerned while their neighbors are segregated and barred from equal rights. There has been a careless use and misuse of the press and other instruments of mass education.

Behind all this is the activity of such groups as those property owners who feel that the Negro's freedom of residence means a collapse of real-estate values. Behind it, also, is the stubborn, set attitude of right-wing unionism and smug, conservative professional groups who resist the Negro's true enfranchisement and block his efforts to enter and advance within all fields of endeavor.

Moreover, in almost every community the police have neglected to enforce decent standards of order and too many times have gone in for brutality and the violation of civil rights when they have met situations requiring a simple firmness.

We live in a time when all along the line officials of Government, social agencies, private enterprises, and unions have got to become aware that a new world is being born, that the great mass of people are ready to move in terms of a better future. These policy-makers and administrators enforce old, inherited, antidemocratic patterns on the assumption that they are appeasing the great masses of people. They do not recognize that the masses of people are already changing their attitudes and are receptive to a system of human relations more expressive of the democratic way of life.

It is to be hoped that this special issue will stimulate inquiries, new studies, and, above all, a serious effort to inform and educate the general public as well as the policy-makers and administrators. If it is true in these dangerous times that America may become a dictatorship and may lose its freedom, it is also true that the very riots and crime waves are themselves evidence that the will to a democratic way of life is alive in the people, that we must become even more of a democracy than we have been.

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The first scientific social survey of the Negro in a northern community was *The Philadelphia Negro* by W. E. B. Du Bois. This pioneer work, published at the turn of the century, is still well worth reading. There was not another significant study until the Chicago Commission on Race Relations released its findings in 1922. Charles S. Johnson was largely responsible for this volume. During the past two decades numerous investigations and reports have been made.

In addition to the social surveys there have been histories, novels, books of poetry, and special magazine and newspaper numbers which have told parts of the large story of the Negro in the North. Prior to this issue of *THE JOURNAL* there have been few attempts to tie these threads together and thus treat the section as a unit.

The following list includes most of the important, and for the most part recent, literature which is pertinent to the topic of this issue. Current information may be obtained from libraries as well as such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City 3; National Negro Congress, 290 Lenox Avenue, New York City 27; National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York City 10; March-on-Washington Movement, 2084 Seventh Avenue, New York City 27; and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1538 Ninth Street, NW, Washington, D. C.

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2. Frazier, E. Franklin, *The Negro Family in Chicago*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932, 294 pp.

3. Johnson, James Weldon, *Black Manhattan*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930, 284 pp.

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## EDITORIAL

The current controversy raging over the form and substance of the postwar educational system seems to this writer a tempest in the proverbial teapot. Those who are saying that the emerging goal of education will be vocational and practical because the war has shown the old system archaic are as far afield as are those who fight for tradition. Both groups are still enslaved by the stereotype that "education is preparation for life."

"Liberal arts didn't prepare youth for this emergency," say these high priests of the educational order, "so we will substitute something that will. We will make the curriculum from subjects that are practical." Is there any guarantee that this "preparation" for the future will be any more practical than was the former? If we could rid ourselves of this stereotype of the past, wouldn't it be fair to say that education is, as Dewey put it, a continuous reconstruction? When there was need for a prolongation of infancy and cultural enrichment, the educational system tried, however imperfectly, to meet this "demand of life." Now that the demand is the reverse, the educational system has again tried to adjust to the demand of life.

Nor is there need for too much concern over this pattern of educational program. There is serious doubt if we learn much of a subject until we are thrown into social situations where to learn the

subject makes sense Robert E. Park has shown this problem of communication in numerous articles he has published. Things that are practical now would be erudite when wartime demands have passed. Conversely, the youngsters who were playing football and complaining about the required courses in science and "math" during yesteryear have learned the science of war in two short years so well that they are more than a match for other youths who have spent their lives studying the arts of destruction.

If the war has any lesson for education, isn't it that we must manipulate the social situation so that what people study will make sense to them? From this point of view the community approach would appear most fruitful. To this writer it is time for us to scrap ideas like "the school should be a society in miniature," and "education for scholastics only," and say that the school is emerging as the channel through which the people of the community function collectively to solve their problems—whatever they are.

When we contemplate the future it is apparent that this point of view is going to be forced on us whether we like it or not. The need for retraining of welders will be acute when war contracts are finished. Nursery schools are probably here to stay. Public-health programs of some sort will be necessary, and their effectiveness will depend upon the extent to which they resort to education to keep people well.

When one reads a book like Ottley's *New World A-Coming* and senses the educational impact of being a Negro in a white city, of what slum shock means to a people, of what living in slums and under the control of stereotypes means to people, one cannot help but see that the real education of a person lies in the informal processes of community life in which he is caught. Unless education catches on and utilizes this community approach, we will continue to be what too often we have been in the past—"peddlers of *non-sense*."

DAN W. DODSON

# FAMILY SITUATIONS AND CHILD BEHAVIOR

## A Proposed Frame Of Reference

James H. S. Bossard

Family situations are accorded primary rank in the analysis and measurement of the child's environment. The family is the one social institution that has been left largely to sociologists for scientific study. It would seem, therefore, to be the sociologists' responsibility to organize and systematize the various researches into the relationship of family situations and child behavior. This paper is an effort to present a framework for such studies.

Our first proposal is that family situations can be studied from three points of view. Existing studies, despite differences in terminology, tend to fall into three such groups. They can be identified here under the terms *structure*, *process*, and *cultural content*.

### The Family Structure

The distinguishing implications of the term *structure* are form and organization, and the essence of both is continuity of relationship. When we structurize a family situation, we see it in repose; we take it apart, examine each part regarding its nature, and inquire into the way these parts are organized into a unit. If I understand him correctly, it is this that Lundberg had in mind when he wrote: "After the field, i.e., situation, has been selected, the problem is to structure it so that the relationship of the elements in the field can be accurately shown. The method of doing this with which we are most familiar is, of course, to name with words certain elements or factors in the situation and then by the use of adjectives or adverbs of ordinary language we attempt to give an accurate statement of the relationships within the field."<sup>1</sup> Thus approaching family situations, three basic lines of inquiry present themselves.

<sup>1</sup> George Lundberg, *Foundations of Sociology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), pp. 217 ff.

### *The Structural Forms of the Family*

Many studies of family situations assume the family to be a standardized biological and reproductive unit, ignoring its diverse forms as a socially conditioned and institutionalized phenomenon. Sociologists, concerned chiefly with contemporary culture, have paid less attention to the classification of family structures; anthropologists, with their comparative approach, have shown considerable interest.

As an illustration of structural forms of the family in the contemporary western culture, the classifications presented by Gillin and attributed to Warner might be cited.<sup>9</sup> This is developed from the point of view of the inclusiveness of membership and with reference to the child member. It differentiates between (1) *the immediate family*, which includes the family of procreation and the family of orientation; and (2) *the extended* (I prefer the term kinship group) *family*. With reference to the latter type such families may be patrilinear or matrilinear. Similarly this type might be classified as to status, the strength of the "we-feeling" within the kinship group, the spatial distribution of the kinfolk, the family tradition, the relative prestige of its outstanding members. Each of these are categories that have great significance in determining the role of this larger family unit in influencing the behavior of the child members.

### *The Structural Elements in Family Situations*

This second line of inquiry into the structure of family situations concerns itself with the constituent elements in these situations and their characteristics. These elements might be thought of as the polar points in the relatively continuous relationships in family situations. Concretely, these polar points would be ordinarily the persons included in the situation. That is to say, the elements in the structure

<sup>9</sup> J. L. and J. P. Gillin, *An Introduction to Sociology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942), pp. 211 ff.



of the family situation to which a child reacts might be a father, a mother, a brother, and a maiden aunt.

The characteristics of this constituent personnel would include many things. First is the simple fact of their total number. One of the most important things about a family situation so far as the child member is concerned is the number of persons in it. Similarly important are the ages, sex, age relationships, and physical appearances of the family members. Such facts have been commonly ignored, yet the recent emphasis in the study of the role in the social structure of sex, age, and age disparity suggests that similar facts may have considerable meaning in the analysis of family situations, especially with reference to the behavior responses of children.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to the characteristics already mentioned would be the personality traits that the social psychologists and other groups have been identifying. Particularly to be emphasized, in this consideration, are those traits that are important for parent-child relationships.<sup>4</sup>

### *Structural Relationships*

The third line of inquiry into the structure of family situations would center upon the relatively continuing relationships among the structural elements, as just described. Concerning these relationships at least four aspects would seem important. First, there is the character of such relationships as they have become institutionalized and socially typed. Illustrations of this would be the father-

<sup>3</sup> Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936), ch. viii; Allison Davis, "American Status Systems and the Socialization of the Child," *The Sociological Review*, June 1941, pp. 345-356; Kingsley Davis, "The Child and the Social Structure," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, December 1940, pp. 219-230. See also the papers by Linton, Parson, and Cottrell in *The Sociological Review*, October 1942.

<sup>4</sup> In this connection, the reader is advised to consult such classifications as those of E. T. Krueger and W. C. Reckless, *Social Psychology* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1935), pp. 352-353; Robert Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, rev. ed., 1925), p. 70; F. H. Allport, *Social Psychology* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924), pp. 101-103; F. H. Allport, *Personality* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1937), pp. 235-369.

mother relationship, that between mother and son, or between eldest and youngest brothers. Second, there is the nature of the personality relationships, in terms of domination and submission, to cite just one type of illustration. A third aspect would be the relative stability of such relationships. Are they stable, permanent, fluctuating, intermittent, temporary, etc? Finally, what is the emotional tone or "temperature" of the relationship? Is it easy and spontaneous, is it tense, is it happy, or is it uncertain and confused?

By way of summarizing this first approach to the study of family situations, it is evident that a good deal of scientific work looking in this direction has already been done. Some anthropologists have concerned themselves with the structural forms of the family in different cultures, and a few sociologists have recognized the need for such studies of the family in our own contemporary society.<sup>8</sup> Again, studies of personality types and traits are available to serve as bases for the analysis of parental types and traits, which we have identified as the structural elements in family situations. The approach to the study of family situations, in terms of structure, involves then in part a series of new studies and in part a reorientation and further development of studies already begun.

### Family Situations as Process

A second way in which a social situation may be viewed is in terms of process. If the structural approach is a still-life picture, this second is that of the motion picture. We are concerned now with the interaction of the elements of the situation. This is the generic process of social interaction, so much emphasized by certain sociologists. The term is used here to identify reciprocal or interdependent relationships among the elements in a situation; and the basic idea involved is not one of the mere meeting or collision of those elements, but something more pervasive and subtle, in the course of

<sup>8</sup> Kingsley Davis in Howard Becker and Reuben Hill, *Marriage and the Family* (Boston D C Heath and Company, 1942), ch vi.

which each acts upon or somehow changes or modifies the other. Conceived thus in terms of process, the situation becomes an immediately related and functioning segment of human experience.

The constant interplay among the members of a family constitutes one of its fundamental features, and gives it such very great importance in the development of the personalities of its members, particularly of its younger members. A family consists customarily of persons of different ages and sexes, who are living together on the basis of a specified and emotional relationship, in which there is going on a continuing interaction among its members. It is in this unit of interacting personalities that the child learns to live, and there are at least three reasons why this experience is of such overwhelming importance in the development of the child's personality. In the first place, the family comprehends the first experience in living of the child; second, these family experiences are repeated over and over again; and, third, they are tinged by an emotional tone.

*Studies of the interactive aspect of family life would seem to divide themselves into two groups. In the first group are those that concern themselves with family interaction chiefly from the point of view of what it is that the child gets from its interactive family experience, particularly with reference to its sociopsychological needs and development. A number of such studies are contained in the recent literature on child development and an analysis of them reveals that at least seven contributions have been emphasized. These might be summarized as follows:*

1. Satisfaction of the "desire for ultimate response"
2. Setting the stage for the development and utilization of the child's ability
3. The family audience satisfies the desire for the approval of one's kind
4. Experiments in adjustments to other persons
5. Development of attitude toward socially typed persons—parent, grandparent, old persons, etc

6. Presentation of tools with which to acquire education
7. The formation of living habits—eating, speaking, etc.

A second group of studies bearing upon family situations considered in terms of process are those that deal with the generic process in all interpersonal relations. These studies have an objective far broader than family interaction, and the general area is one that must include perforce many scientific disciplines. It may be, as Cottrell and Gallagher suggest, that social psychology, thus conceived, "will be the biochemistry of the social sciences."<sup>6</sup> It seems equally clear that, to study the generic processes of interpersonal relations, psychology, psychiatry, psychoanalysis, cultural anthropology, and other sciences, as well as sociology will have their contributions to make. The analysis of family situations in terms of process is, then, a part of this larger area of investigation of interpersonal relations per se.

### The Cultural Content of Family Situations

Both the structure and process of family situations are but means to an end, and that end is the content that they convey. This content we speak of as culture. This cultural content is the distinguishing feature of human family situations. For example, before me on the floor, as I write, is a dog family engaged in play. Here is an interactive process, most assuredly; there are gestures, grimaces, growls, with an evident role of attitudes, dispositions, emotions, and the like. This is process; but there is no cultural content. Culture is exclusively a human product, and a culture content of the interactive process is confined to human relationships.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Leonard S. Cottrell and Ruth Gallagher, *Developments in Social Psychology from 1930 to 1940*, Sociometry Monograph No. 1, Beacon House, New York, 1941, p. 58

<sup>7</sup> For an illustration of the distinction between process and content, as here made, see John E. Anderson, "The Development of Social Behavior," *The American Journal of Sociology*, May 1939, p. 849.

This cultural content is in many ways the basic aspect of family situations, yet it is perhaps the most neglected one in their study, and in the consideration of their role in child behavior. This is all the more astonishing when one considers the sociologist's recent emphasis upon culture. In a measure, sociologists have busied themselves for a decade or two in rehashing and restating the psychologist's and psychiatrist's material on family-child behavior problems, relatively neglecting all the while the rich view of cultural data at their front doors—a view so aptly a part of their general field of investigation and so rich with material for the interpretation of behavior problems.

Each family has its own culture pattern. This is a specific, selective combination of cultural elements peculiar to that family. It is formed on the basis of various factors: the culture of the adults who formed the family, the parts of the general culture that the family knows, the parts that the family has access to; all these modified by the family's experience with different aspects of the general culture and the powerful influence of the aspirations of the family.

Because of the sociologist's concern with both culture and the institution of the family, the analysis of family culture patterns is their particular responsibility. It is proposed that such analysis proceed with reference to five distinct aspects.

### *A Description of the Family Pattern*

This involves the identification and description of the elements in the family culture pattern in simple objective, realistic manner, with a minimum of interpretation or evaluation. This is a rigorous discipline. Can an outline be devised for the description and study of a family culture? Can this be done with sufficient objectivity so that a family culture pattern can be "mounted" just as a botanist mounts his specimens? This would seem to be the first step in the analysis of a family culture pattern.

*Harmony or Conflict in the Family Pattern*

What is the relationship of the cultural elements in the family pattern to each other? Two main aspects of such relationships must be considered: (1) those between adults in the family, and (2) those between generations included.

1. Is there cultural harmony or conflict among the adult members of the family in regard to such matters of major importance as religion, nationality, class status, recreation, or child rearing? This question is particularly important in the light of such facts as the recent controversies over progressive education and liberalism in family discipline, and the inevitably large number of "mixed marriages" in a population with so many diverse cultural elements as there are in the United States.

2. What is the nature and degree of cultural relationship among the generations included in the family? Two main aspects of such relationships require comment. First, there is the problem of intergenerational relationships in families of foreign stock. One fifth of the children of the United States fall into this transitional group, and three fourths of them are congregated in our urban areas of population. Second, there is the problem of the cultural divergences among generations in the same family, which result from rapid cultural change. How early do these consequences operate? This problem of parent-child culture conflict obtains in every generation; the query here is directed to its role in a period of very rapid cultural change. It might be profitable to examine the significance of the culture lag theory for family situations. In a rapidly changing culture, children learn early how their material culture differs from that of their parents' nonmaterial culture. Is the latter similarly "dated"? How well do the adaptations of the culture of the members of the family synchronize in a period of very rapid cultural change? There is a curious lack of studies of "old-fashioned" family situations in the literature on the family- and parent-child relationships.

What is the degree or intensity of the harmony or conflict in these intrafamily relationships? Do they exist in regard to such fundamental matters as religion, nationality, greatly emphasized mores, etc., or do they obtain in regard to matters of minor importance? Are the tensions involved sufficiently strong to create a condition of marked cultural insecurity?

How does the family interpret these culture differentials and conflicts? What attitudes come to prevail in family situations toward them? Do the members of the family agree on these methods or not? Isaacs, for example, has written penetratingly of the possible meaning to the child of the contrast between family situations in which there is complete freedom and in which there is a stable and ordered world of values.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, Koshuk has done some interesting work on this at the preschool level, showing how some children must adapt to groups whose codes and methods of social control are divergent, and possibly contradictory, while others live in a world all of whose groups function harmoniously.<sup>10</sup>

What are the ways of resolving culture differentials in the family advocated by the dominant member? By the member with the highest prestige? Anderson points out<sup>11</sup> that children accept the ways of some one among the personnel in the family situation above all others. The role and operation of prestige in family relations have been curiously neglected by sociologists.

### *Insights into Family Situations*

Insights into family situations which have been contributed by the psychiatrists justify the distinction between an *expressed* and a *repressed* family culture. The *expressed* culture is that which operates on the surface, with activities and words to be taken relatively

<sup>9</sup> S. Isaacs, *The Social Development of Young Children* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1933).

<sup>10</sup> Ruth Pearson Koshuk, "Problems for Sociological Research in Personality Development," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, April 1937, pp. 464-469.

<sup>11</sup> John E. Anderson, "The Development of Social Behavior," *op cit*, p. 819.

at their "face" value; the *repressed* culture exists and operates beneath the level of awareness, in the mental hinterland of the persons involved. As a rule all that has been repressed by the parents in their own lives tends to be transmitted to their children, often in perverted form. If the statement be not taken too literally, one might say that most persons fall into two main categories: (1) those who adjust wholly or largely to the prevailing mores and tend secretly to feel sorry for themselves; and (2) those who do not adjust so completely and are inclined to worry about it. To the extent that this is true it would mean that, among parents, there result two prevailing emphases on cultural values: one that of secret satisfaction and the other colored by a sense of guilt.

The basic fact to be emphasized perhaps is that there are persistent but not always obvious pressures operating in family situations, which tend to force the children into forms of expression that are compensatory for what has been left unfulfilled in the lives of the parents. Thus one comes to understand why overly moral parents have so-called immoral children, why a partly successful father attempts to goad his son into an inordinate ambition, why an unhappily married mother displays a morbid interest in her son's romantic adventures, and why the gangster parent encourages his son to enter the priesthood. All this is, of course, a commonplace to students who have been steeped in psychoanalytic literature of recent years; it is here contended that the principle involved should be utilized as basic for the analysis of the cultural content of family situations. At any rate, this repressed phase of the culture situation in family life needs to be explored much more comprehensively than has thus far been the case, and recognized as a definite conditioning factor in the life of the child.

### *Family Culture at Different Ages of the Child*

One aspect of the study of the culture content of family situations which has been largely neglected is the role of rapid changes in that



content during the child's life. Two recent developments emphasize its contemporary importance. One is the recent prolongation of the child's period of preparation for life, involving a corresponding increase in the time span of family conditioning of the child. Time was when the child's preparation for life was relatively short. Both the questions and answers of life were comparatively few and simple, and were fixed at an early age. Time now is when the answers are numerous, the answers are complex and in a high state of flux, and the period of preparation for life is obviously and necessarily much longer. There is common agreement today that the person continues to develop psychologically long after the age of physical maturity has been reached; it is here contended that the period of the cultural conditioning of the child within the family must be reconsidered on the basis of a much longer time span. In other words, the family culture operates during an increased number of years in the life of the child.

A second factor to be emphasized is the fact that, in a society with a considerable degree of vertical mobility, any particular family culture may undergo marked changes during the period of the child's life in the family. It is characteristic of large numbers of American families that they move not only from their locality but also from their class. Considerable emphasis has been placed by sociologists upon the fact that the children make the adjustment to a new class culture more quickly than the parents, but what the particular culture of the socially ascending or descending family actually includes again has been neglected. Warner and Lunt give us some hint as to what the cultural changes may be like.<sup>12</sup>

#### *Relation of the Family Cultural Pattern to Its Social Units*

Finally, of the highest importance is the relation of the family cultural pattern to those of the various social units of which the

<sup>12</sup> W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), *The Status System of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942)

family is a member. There are at least four well-defined aspects of such relationships that need to be explored in any cultural approach to behavior.

1. *Relation to the ethos, or national cultural pattern.* The term *ethos*, developed by the ancient Greeks, was applied by the late William Graham Sumner to the distinguishing cultural pattern of any national society. To this ethos, the child is introduced by his family. This introduction is in part formal, but much more of it is incidental and subtle. The ethos surrounds the child at every turn; it is like the air he breathes. But, all the time, as he learns the ethos, he absorbs also the family attitude toward it.

What is the relation of the family culture to that of the national pattern? Is the specific family pattern "old American," Greek-American, Fascist Italian, non-Fascist Italian, Lithuanian, or Icelandic? How much and in what ways does it deviate from the ethos? If it is different, is the difference complicated by antagonism or friendliness, and what is the emotional intensity of the particular attitude held? Questions like these are particularly important in a nation where one third of the population is of foreign stock, with sixteen elements in that stock constituting more than a half million persons each; in which another eleventh of the population is Negro; and in which even the old native stock harks back to differing national origins.

2. *Relation to the regional pattern.* The region is a unit part of the larger society. Identified first in geographic terms, subsequently on the basis of trade and other economic considerations, the region is identified today in cultural terms.<sup>28</sup> The Division of Social Research of the Works Progress Administration delineates 29 cultural areas and 210 subregions within the rural farm population. Hertzler speaks of the "dominant motifs which serve as selective norms and

<sup>28</sup> Howard W. Odum and H. E. Moore, *American Regionalism* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1938)

as centers of reference in the region. It is this complex regional culture which produces the personality patterns of its inhabitants through the stimuli which it radiates. . . ."<sup>14</sup>

What is the relationship between the family culture which reflects its background of regional patterning and that of a new region to which the family moves? Here is an old South Carolina family, now living in upper Michigan, or Massachusetts, or New York City. Interregional movement is frequent in a country whose population is as mobile as ours. Such residential changes must have great meaning for the children in these families, but the role of family-regional culture conflicts in the study of behavior is an almost unexplored field of study.

3 *Relation to smaller cultural areas.* Within the region are smaller areas, subregions, sections, communities, neighborhoods, ecological areas, etc. Each of these has come to be identified increasingly on the basis of its cultural aspects. Reference has already been made to the 210 subregions identified in the rural areas. The literature on the community is being written in cultural terms. The cultural interpretation of ecological areas has begun.

This local cultural setting for specific family situations is particularly important. It is the immediate and intimate cultural variant within which the family has most of its contacts, and hence has far greater meaning in the study of behavior than has been accorded to it. The culture conflicts of which criminological students speak today would seem to be chiefly of this kind; *i.e.*, conflicts between the culture of the criminal and his community and the culture of the larger society. The conclusion of Dr. Plant may be recalled here: "The artifices and shams, the triumphs and tawdry cheapnesses of the community—all of these flow into the child and become part of him. He who comes to you in agency, school, or clinic brings with

<sup>14</sup> J. O. Hertzler, "Some Notes on the Social Psychology of Regionalism," *Social Forces*, March 1940, pp. 331-332.

him the dirt of his street, or its challenging struggle to some distant goal."<sup>15</sup>

Of particular importance for child behavior are the conflicts between the culture of the family and that of the neighborhood or community in which the family lives. This again is a particularly important field for study in the second generational family group in this country. What reader of the sociological literature is not familiar with the case of Angelo, son of Greek-born parents, living in a family whose culture was largely Greek, but residing in a second and third generation Irish neighborhood.<sup>16</sup> This divergence between family and community culture needs continued intensive scientific exploration.

4. *Relation to the class cultures.* Within each of these areas, there are definite distinctions of another kind. These may be spoken of as class distinctions. The bases for the division of people into social classes are numerous, and vary in the importance attached to them. Of most importance are those of race, national origin, economic resources, heredity, background, and intellectual attainment.<sup>17</sup>

As social classes become distinct and fixed, they develop common interests, a spirit of cooperation and mutual aid, a feeling of consciousness of kind. "There are built up a set of common attitudes, habits, sentiments and values upon which the members agree, which give them a basis for understanding each other, and upon which they act in harmony. To belong to a caste or class is to know how to act in prescribed ways. It gives a fixity and a predictability to behavior which may be important in the smooth running of the social order."<sup>18</sup> In other words, social classes develop their own culture patterns.

<sup>15</sup> James S. Plant in the *Annual Proceedings* of the National Conference of Social Work (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 335

<sup>16</sup> Clifford R. Shaw, "Case Study Method," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXI, 1927, pp. 149-157

<sup>17</sup> C. C. North, *Social Differentiation* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1926)

<sup>18</sup> Kimball Young, *An Introductory Sociology* (New York: American Book Company, 1934), p. 475

Now, the family transmits the culture pattern of its own class to the child, together with the class attitudes toward other classes. The family influence upon the child is particularly significant in its rating of social classes, the place of its own scale in the social class, and the attitudes toward other classes. Here one finds marked emotions, for these matters of class distinction are not only pervasive but go far below the surface. The reader will find an excellent study of the interaction of family situations and class differences in the first two volumes of the Yankee City Series.<sup>39</sup>

The point of particular emphasis here is that each family has its class culture and, from the earliest days of its extrafamily life, the child comes to sense and to know its class culture differentials. They run through every group activity in which the child engages, and many of the culture conflicts that incite the child's behavior would seem to be those involving the relationship of the family's class culture to that of the culture of other classes. Every family culture includes not only a pattern of living and thinking involving its own class, but also patterns of reaction to other classes and cultures.

This paper constitutes an effort to organize the sociological analysis of family situations, with special reference to child behavior. Studies in social structure, social process, and culture are all parts of the sociologist's recognized range of interests and scope of investigation. Systematically developed in the specific field of family situations, they constitute a frame of reference for the analysis of the family role in the development of child behavior.

<sup>39</sup> W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *op cit*. See also Allison Davis, B. B. Gardner, and M. R. Gardner, *Deep South* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941).

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## **PUBLIC RELATIONS IN HIGHER EDUCATION**

**Richard S. Grossley**

The creation of an informed and enlightened public opinion regarding higher education is an important part of educational statesmanship. Obviously, the educators themselves should be among those best informed about a community's general social needs, and the building of sound community support for education must be included in the aims of any comprehensive and democratic program of public relations. There are available techniques that offer effective means of social enrichment through the democratization of educational policy and procedure. It has been wisely suggested that educational leadership might with profit seek to effect a more definite and workable "partnership" with the public. On the basis of the most casual observation, there is much to substantiate the validity of that suggestion. Since the primary purpose of such a relationship would be to integrate school-community interest and activity, the extent and character of such union would doubtless be determined by local interests and demands. The extension or curtailment of institutional service, adult-education needs, issues related to the financing of education—these and other questions involved in the policy, program, and objective of educational institutions might easily concern the lay as well as the professional groups

### **Elements of Effective Public Relations**

Educational institutions, like other public agencies, require for their healthy and effective existence community good will. Obviously, to attain this essential there must be intelligent use of the various media through which it is to be achieved; but to be of greatest effectiveness, these means, devices, and techniques should be parts of a program that is carefully planned. Planning then is literally the crux of public relations. Without a program that is clearly defined, there are apt to be defenseless, costly, and irreparable blun-

ders, hasty judgments, conflicts, and misunderstandings. As yet, no one has suggested ways and means of avoiding all errors, conflicts, and complications, but it is generally conceded that, with a well-ordered and efficiently executed plan of procedure, they can be reduced to a minimum.

In most of the smaller institutions, leadership in public relations rests upon the head of the institution. In the absence of a public-relations worker to assist him by gathering and compiling the necessary facts, the president must of necessity supply the skill, technique, and wisdom for meeting public demands for information. He must face the fact—and it should be taken seriously into account—that whatever else may be lacking, there is always a public with which to deal, a program, adequate or inadequate, to be interpreted; in short, the elements of effective public relations are present, demanding only recognition and systematic and practical application.

In commercial and industrial institutions public relations have to do with courteous treatment of customer and visitor by the employees and officers, the handling of complaints, the content and form of letters going out, the service and efficiency of the "telephone attendants," the attitude of executives and officers toward stockholders, newspaper representatives, and the whole relationship of buyer and seller.

The public relations of an educational institution are not a matter of devices and techniques; their effectiveness cannot be measured in terms of the amount of public attention received; they are of far deeper significance. They do not of course constitute a panacea for all the ills and besetments with which colleges and universities are confronted; but, properly employed and intelligently directed, public relations can do an immeasurable service toward gaining favorable acceptance of the educational ideals, services, and objectives of the institution by the public from which it gets its support. Programs of public relations are designed and executed primarily as means of strengthening community relationships, reducing mis-

understandings, stimulating confidence, securing support and co-operation, creating greater interest in institutional activities, and giving the public a clearer understanding of the efforts and objectives of the school.

### **Channels and Means of Implementation**

An important function of public relations is that of educational interpretation. It should be remembered that an institution may be interpreted "by" as well as "to" its public. This may be (1) through its physical plant, (2) through its personnel, (3) through its products, and (4) through its reports. And since it is the privilege of even the average citizen to employ any one or all of these media, their significance justifies all attempts to give each approach its maximum emphasis and value.

The school plant reflects the cause of education in every community. It is the silent symbol of educational sentiment—a measure of the interest held by the community for the cause of education. The potency of any school report, whether written or verbal, as a basis of interpretation must certainly be regarded. As a fundamental consideration every institution should keep as its constant memento the fact that it will be judged worthy or unworthy by the products it sends forth.

### **Public-Relations Practices**

The writer made an extensive investigation of the policies and practices of public relations in thirty or more colleges and universities, including the land-grant colleges for Negroes. It was interesting to find that as a feature of their public relations, more than fifty per cent of these institutions, in varying degrees, employed mainly what in general is regarded as the "permanent continuing" type of educational publicity. In a few instances, however, it was noted that the "campaign publicity" type of program was employed, while in others both methods of publicity were being used. In the case of the land-grant colleges, practically all of



them administered their public-relations program from the office of the president. The investigation revealed varying degrees of awareness on the part of all participating institutions of the need for interpreting their programs, policies, and objectives to their publics. It also revealed in many cases lack of planned programs of educational interpretation based upon sound policies and well-defined objectives. It was observed that the more vital, complete, and constructive public-relations programs were in centers where they were well planned and staffed, and where they were given adequate financial and moral support.

#### **Public Relations and the Negro College Student**

The outstanding problem in the Negro land-grant colleges seems still to center around the Negro college student. It is a matter of record that the Negro college freshman in the main enters college with the distinct handicap of a poor educational background. Concerning this, Dr. Ambrose Caliver, Senior Specialist in the United States Office of Education, presents a full, aggressive, and illuminating discussion of the problems involved and the remedies that should be easy and certain of application. It is desired here only to call attention to certain phases of the problem which are often either overlooked or improperly evaluated.

The Negro college student comes from a relatively low socioeconomic status. The vast majority, in fact, comes from homes supported by parents engaged in domestic and personal service, and in unskilled labor. This means not only total absence of economic security but also, affecting the students, insufficient funds to pay the higher tuition and living cost. This used to be the chief barrier in private institutions, but it has come to be of equal significance in the majority of land-grant colleges. This is a problem that should be taken fully into account by the land-grant college authorities and those responsible for the scope, character, and support of their programs of service.

The Negro land-grant colleges are public institutions. They receive their major support from public taxation. They are designed to perform one of society's most exacting and important functions—that of training youth for citizenship and service in a democracy. There is, therefore, every reason for deep and far-reaching concern on the part of the public in the welfare of the institution. Because of this inherent obligation to interest and responsibility, the public also has a right to know what the schools are doing and why they are being thus directed. Certainly public sentiment about an institution should not be left to chance and the possibility of irresponsible and distorted interpretation. The welfare of the institution and that of the community is bound to be affected by public sentiment. It would seem then that this inevitable public sentiment should be based upon as accurate and comprehensive information as could possibly be provided.

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## A COMMUNITY APPROACH TO THE REHABILITATION OF THE HANDICAPPED

V. J. Sallak

Educators, social workers, occupational therapists, nurses, and doctors are much concerned about the rehabilitation of the handicapped. No one group of these professionals can afford all of the service required in the average community, but all have a definite contribution to make in the solution of the two distinct problems that beset them. The first of these problems calls for the rehabilitation of civilian handicapped adults and children. The second, the one of which the public is now most aware, calls for the social and vocational rehabilitation of handicapped veterans returning to home communities. These handicapped individuals, civilian and veteran,

suffer from many disabilities. The cardiac, the tuberculous, the partially seeing and hearing, the totally deaf and blind, the orthopedically crippled, those suffering from amputations, and those suffering from mental disorders are among the types of disabled persons who need this service.

The coherent and well-knit program of service offered in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, of which Cleveland is an integral part, is not the ultimate in this work. Yet it is, at least in the opinion of the writer and others familiar with the field, qualitatively and quantitatively among the best of those that may be observed in this country.

### The Basic Program

The program shows a definite contribution made by a number of public and private agencies. These include the public schools, the State vocational rehabilitation service, local welfare and health agencies, both public and private, and medical institutions. The service offered is possible only because teachers, social workers, psychologists, occupational therapists, and medical staffs play co-operative parts in the rehabilitation procedure.

In analyzing the program of service, several distinct phases can be clearly differentiated: (1) an in-hospital program; (2) a post-hospital program involving treatment and mental and physical hardening; (3) a vocational training and placement program.

Referral of patients from one phase of the program to another is handled with a minimum waste of time. While the patient is in one phase of service, clearance with the others is established. He goes readily from one to the other without the passage of weeks and months commonly lost in so many cities. This continuity of service reduces to a minimum the usual agency red tape that most patients resent fiercely.

While these phases are clearly defined, there is, nevertheless, a *coordinated plan for flexibility in type of service*. Actually voca-

tional training may begin in the hospital phase. Hardening is begun in the hospital phase. Treatment may continue through the post-hospital phase and through vocational training. In some instances treatment will continue after placement in a job has occurred. (An instance of this would be those taking pneumothorax treatment for tuberculosis.) Similar flexibility in other areas of activity is characteristic of the pattern of service.

### **An In-Hospital Program**

An unusually fine example of an in-hospital program within the larger program is offered at Sunny Acres Tuberculosis Sanatorium, formerly a city institution but now a county hospital. Within the institution, and an essential part of its therapeutic service, is the Rehabilitation Department. This department includes a teaching staff of five for adult patients, offering opportunity for study in academic subject matter, home economics, industrial arts, and commercial subjects. Additional teachers are available for children. The department includes occupational therapy with a director, two assistants, and additional trainees from affiliated schools of occupational therapy. It provides medical social service through three workers. It makes provision for counseling and educational and vocational aptitude testing by staff psychologists and practising students from near-by universities. The entire program is coordinated through the services of a director.

Patients in Sunny Acres Sanatorium are in various group classifications, depending upon their status as determined by the physician. Physical activities are based on this classification. The stated number of class periods has been determined for each group. It is important, however, to recognize that restrictions of these activities may be imposed by the physician in charge. All classifications require the written approval of the senior resident physician and the prescription is incorporated in the patient's medical record charts by the head nurse in attendance. While classifications are subject

to reorganization, Sunny Acres has until recently held to six groups. Revision now being undertaken will probably produce an additional group resulting from finer definition of activities within the already existing classifications. Here, for example, is the pattern of activities that is available for group number 3 patients:

*Group Number 3 (Bed Patients with Minimum Exercise).* These patients may be out of bed  $1\frac{1}{4}$  hours in the morning,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours at noon, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours in the evening. This gives ample time to spare for recreation. Patients must use the elevator when it is necessary to go from one floor to another. The patients may attend one entertainment or church service per week in the auditorium.

Patients may have three 45-minute class periods per week in craft work and academic subjects:

1. All class instruction must be bedside work. Patients may use their up time for craft work or academic preparation. Activities may involve muscles up to elbow and, on improvement, up to shoulder. Notes may be taken on radio classes.

2. Psychological tests and vocational counseling are given when the need is indicated to the patients over the age of 16. The results of these tests and the interest of the patient are the bases of all class assignments.

3. Academic classes are provided by teachers from the Cleveland Board of Education and school credit may be given for work completed while at the sanatorium.

4. Activities other than academic work:

- a) The craft work mentioned in Group 2 may be used, with slightly heavier and larger pieces of materials. In addition, the following things are offered: weave-kits; colonial mats; carving in soft wood and on small pieces; chip carving; soap carving; leather work without stippling; bead work; cord knotting with shortened cords and lightweight cord; raffia work; needle point; fly tying; card weaving (shoestring purses, etc.); weaving on a 4-inch loom used for making belts; leather or wood burning; certain other light crafts comparable to those mentioned above.

- b) Pre-vocational or vocational activities may be offered at this stage: mechanical drawing and drafting, shorthand, blue-print reading, book-keeping.

A perusal of these activities reveals that several services are available for this group of patients; they include counseling and testing,

classwork in vocational and educational subject matter, occupational therapy, various diversional activities. This particular pattern is available for adult patients.

Adults also have a variety of entertainments and opportunities for self-expression. Ambulant patients may be permitted to participate in amateur hours, quiz bees, and to attend card and bingo parties. Full-length sound motion pictures are shown once a month through the courtesy of various producers. Arrangements for this are made through the Variety Club of Cleveland. Sixteen-millimeter sound and silent adult films are shown to ambulant patients once a week; these are available through the Cleveland Educational Museum. It is interesting to note that library service available through the Cleveland Public Library is also accessible.

The rehabilitation director has, as part of her essential duties, the scheduling of the activity of each patient and clears with medical advice on the suggested activities. A similar group of activities is set up for children. With the children, highly social activities are encouraged: They write and produce plays. They are taught to design and make all the properties and costumes as well as direct the production. The children have a newspaper for which they write articles. Special occupational therapy classes are held for certain groups, and these special classes provide periods of supervised free plays and games in the auditorium. The children form groups of their own; this is encouraged to teach leadership or to give experience in self-expression and to help develop the social graces.

It is necessary to state that, quite early in the hospital experience of the patient, a definite plan leading to a long-time objective is worked out to the satisfaction of the patient and with the cooperation of the rehabilitation workers. Before discharge, this plan has been checked by the workers within the medical institution and those with whom the patient must deal in his post-sanatorium experiences. These would include the personnel of the Association for the Crippled and Disabled, the State Rehabilitation Service, on

occasion the United States Employment Service, and a number of welfare and health agencies in the community.

The feasibility of vocational rehabilitation in the plan is stressed. Medical prognosis must be such as to permit acceptance by the State Rehabilitation Service. After the plan has been settled upon, and the patient has been discharged from the tuberculosis institution, the patient enters upon the second major phase of his rehabilitation.

### **The Post-Hospital Program**

The Association for the Crippled and Disabled is peculiarly well equipped to provide distinct therapeutic service and, at the same time, vocational training leading to rehabilitation. Basically, two types of work programs exist within the organization. The first of these is a sheltered workshop program; the second a program leading to full-time employment. The admission requirements call for compliance with specific requirements. These are: (a) prescription by a doctor of medicine or an orthopedic specialist; (b) acceptance by the Association's special admissions committee; (c) a vocational plan; (d) approval by the Association's general physician and the specialist in the field of the patient's handicaps. The personnel planning for the Association includes medical personnel—including occupational and physical therapists—social service, sheltered shop workers, work-treatment shop supervisors, and a variety of instructors. These instructors vary with the needs of the organization and financial support. (Financial support for the Association is forthcoming almost entirely from the Community Chest Fund in Cleveland.) Cooperation on cost of teachers, etc., has at times been possible with other public and private agencies in Cleveland.

The work-treatment shop at the Association was opened in 1935 to meet a distinct community need. It was organized as a part of the sheltered shops department to give treatment through work on a doctor's prescription. It emphasizes adjustment to industry, especially for those persons with good prognoses who cannot enter indus-

try immediately for a full work day of seven hours. Such patients may enter work treatment two hours two days per week and gradually have this time increased to a full day as physical condition permits.

The need for adequate medical supervision was given serious consideration. It was decided that a prescription from the referring physician covering hours and types of activity for each individual was necessary. The monthly medical check-up, the weekly checking of weight, and daily checking of pulse and temperature have always been used. Daily rest periods are observed and nourishment is provided. Tuberculosis and cardiac specialists, a general physician, and full-time nurse have been necessary. Guidance from the Academy of Medicine Advisory Doctors Committees has been of great value.

At first, work activity was almost exclusively light factory assembling. Mimeographing and sewing were the first additions. Woodworking, typing, and shorthand were added a little later. There will be continued addition of activities as the need arises.

The Association has had problems related to wages, even as other similar organizations. When the shop was first developed, wages were paid for the work produced. This was gradually eliminated. The reasons for this were threefold: (1) Patients with limited work capacity were extending their efforts too far in order to earn as much as possible. The objectives of the shop, which called for graded activity under careful supervision to prevent physical breakdown, were being defeated. (2) It was found that the payment of wages had to be provided through a subsidy, because the amount of money resulting from contracts was not sufficient to cover wage costs. It was impossible to provide this subsidy at that time. (3) It was not always possible to meet the industrial standards for quality of work. It is interesting to note, however, that the Association has been making a definite contribution to the war effort through its work program. Various contracts calling for the production of cer-



tain types of simple assembling have been sublet to the Association by manufacturers of certain war supplies.

### **Vocational Training and Placement**

In the building proper in which the Association is housed is located also the Cleveland office of the State Rehabilitation Service. This unusual physical arrangement has produced benefits for patients. The close physical proximity of the State Rehabilitation Service to the patients and their place of treatment has increased the number of good risks for rehabilitation service. The agents of the Rehabilitation Service, along with the supervisors of that district have "proof-of-the-pudding" evidence that patients, whether they be cardiac, tuberculous, paralytic, or those suffering from amputation or otherwise disabled, can stand up to certain types of work over stated periods of time. Further, these representatives of State service have intimate acquaintance with the medical history and prognosis of each patient who becomes their client. With such thorough acquaintance, training is considerably less of a financial hazard. Various categories of ignored disabled in other communities have not received much needed service from the official agencies, often because of possible reactivation of the disease or disability. The tuberculous are one of this group. It is interesting to note that where the tuberculous form from one to five per cent of the officially rehabilitated group in other communities, in Cleveland they approximate a much more substantial percentage. Other often ignored handicapped patients benefit likewise.

The staff of the Association and the medical institutions from which patients come originally are often called in on discussions regarding vocational planning for patients, especially in view of the fact that a plan has already been set up for each patient. The reader will observe that the plan actually started far back in the hospital experience of the patient. Even at that time, certain checking with the other cooperating agencies had been initiated in order that the

plan would be acceptable also to the Association and to the official rehabilitation service.

Placements are made quite realistically. The State Rehabilitation Service has been able to develop various types of training, often leading to immediate placement. For example, on-the-job training has been made possible even with patients who on occasion have not had a full-day work tolerance. The Rehabilitation Service recognizes that a wide variety of placement opportunities is possible for many types of physically handicapped. The fallacy that the blind must always do caning, the tuberculous must look for watch repair jobs and outside work, and that other types are limited in their scope to very few opportunities has been thrown over by the experience, initiative, and ingenuity of the agents of this Rehabilitation Service.

Below is a list of some of the job objectives of a number of their clients:

Home-economics teacher	Skilled assembly
Sewing—alterations	Office secretary
Die-scraper learner	Office clerk and receptionist
General office and bookkeeping	Draftsman on tool design
Stenographer	Comptometer operator
Draftsman	Typist and mail clerk
Tool control man	Power-machine operator
Planning engineer	Engraver's apprentice

Diversity in job objectives of this kind calls for careful matching of a client's skill to the needs of a job.

The United States Employment Service in Cleveland, with its Division for the Physically Handicapped, has also made a unique contribution to this problem. During the summer of 1942, at the peak of the manpower shortage, it had six interviewers devoted to this work and a typical month showed placements for over three hundred handicapped individuals. The total placements during

that particular month through that office amounted to over 8,000. Almost four per cent of the total placements were placements of physically handicapped persons. Relatively few offices of the United States Employment Service can show similar results.

It is difficult in a short statement to credit all those agencies directly involved in a cooperative effort of this type. The local Board of Education and the Health and Welfare Departments are to be applauded in their efforts to make this arrangement possible. Private welfare also has had a hand in supplementing the financial support of both patients and institutions. The local tuberculosis association provides the tuberculosis specialist on the staff of the Association. Other agencies have contributed generously to make the entire program possible.

The cost of a single tuberculous patient has been estimated as ranging from \$5,000 to \$10,000. If any one patient is rehabilitated, does not infect others, and supports himself as a result of this kind of work, the community benefits in a variety of ways. Not the least of these ways is the conversion of a community liability into a community asset. When one considers the variety of disabled patients who benefit from this organization, the observer realizes Cleveland's and Cuyahoga County's good fortune in having an intelligent and sound approach to the rehabilitation of the handicapped.

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## TEACHER LIABILITY AS CULTURE LAG

**Herman P. Mantell**

To what extent are teachers, supervisors, and administrators personally liable when they do something in the classroom or in the school that may be educationally constructive and creative but is

not prescribed in the syllabus, as a result of which a pupil may be accidentally injured?

Parents are asked to sign consent slips giving their permission to the teachers and to the school to take their children out on excursions or trips away from the school grounds. These consent slips usually contain waivers wherein the parents assume all liability in case of an accident. But what is the legal value of these consent slips?

Parents may waive their own rights but they cannot waive the rights of their children. This means that the parents have assumed liability and may not institute suit against the teachers or the school but the children involved in an accident still retain their rights to sue for personal injuries, and these rights are retained until they reach their majority and for one year thereafter.

Teachers ask children to bring into school tools, boxes, and other materials that can be used in school activities. This procedure is being used more widely today under the new experience curriculum or in the activity program. Let us suppose that a child brings in a carpenter's plane that is slightly defective and another child is injured while using it. What is the teacher's liability? The board of education may very safely contend that the defective plane was in the classroom without its knowledge and, since it was not supplied by the board, the board cannot be held liable for the injuries to the child on the theory of negligence. But the teacher may be held personally liable in such a case.

A woman came into the general office of a school and asked to see a teacher. The policy of this progressive school was to permit parents to interview teachers anent their children. The visitor gave a child's name and the clerk assumed that she was a parent. The teacher was notified and she saw the alleged parent in the library. However, the visitor's purpose was not to interview the teacher but to serve her with a legal paper. The teacher became emotionally disturbed and told the principal about it. The principal felt that the

purpose of his school was to create a healthy and wholesome environment in which the children can grow and that healthy and happy teachers were a necessary element in this environment. He, thereupon, had the process server arrested for trespassing in the school building and for impersonating a parent, but the case was dismissed by a city magistrate. The principal and the board of education were then sued for false imprisonment and malicious prosecution. After a trial, the case was dismissed against the board of education, but judgment was awarded the plaintiff against the principal, who had to pay.

Here was a progressive principal who was thinking of the general welfare of his pupils in terms of their complete environment, which includes the happiness of their teachers, who must pay a judgment for having done something that he believed was in the best interests of the children. The argument advanced against this principal's contention that his duties included the protection of his teachers as well as the protection of his students was that his duties included only the protection of his students. It was not within the scope of his employment to protect his teachers.

Many instances of lawsuits against teachers, administrators, supervisors, and boards of education could be given. In all of these suits, the board of education tried to absolve itself of any liability. The effect of this policy will be to create such a fear of personal liability among the teaching and administrative staffs that education will often be thwarted. This is especially true today. No matter how small the risk may be to the teacher or supervisor or administrator, that person will bear the full weight of any legal action if it is construed by the courts that the educator was not acting within the "scope of his employment." School officers, teachers, supervisors, administrators, school nurses, school doctors, visiting teachers, special per diem teachers, custodial staffs, and other educational agents and employees must correlate their work in order to make

of the school and its environment the happiest and most wholesome place in which the child can progressively grow and experience real lifelike situations.

These newer experiences, like the activity program, have added a further element of risk, which may result in personal injury and property damage through the use of tools and materials necessary for the child to gain the maximum advantages for himself from the situations provided for him in his school life. These newer experiences have also added to the responsibilities of all educational agents and employees who have no clear conception how far they may proceed in their teaching techniques, without fear of personal liability in the form of money damages or dismissal.

A study and analysis of New York State statutes, court decisions, and interpretations by lawyers and educators anent teacher liability result in the following conclusions:

1. An improved and freer education is most desirable in our democracy and in our democratic way of living.

2. While the above is desirable, it can only be accomplished by an alert and professionally minded and creative body of men and women necessary for its accomplishment.

3. However, these educational agents, teachers, supervisors, and administrators are, many times, reluctant to pursue freer and more creative methods and educational arrangements for fear that, if an injury to a person or property damages are occasioned, in the process of doing other than the ordinary they may become personally liable for such injuries or property damages.

4. Then followed certain legislation, like Section 881-a and Section 569-a of the New York State Education Law, that gave the teachers some protection but not enough. There was no uniformity by the courts in the application of the legal principles involved, which in turn gave rise to a new state of confusion.

5. There are no sections in the New York State Education Law that would dispel the fear of disciplinary action or dismissal from position, even though the educator is saved from a money judgment for personal injuries or property damages.

6. This leads to the necessity for more freedom for teachers, supervisors, administrators, and other educational agents so that they can pursue policies and execute programs that are more desirable professionally.

These conclusions should lead to new legislation to protect educators.

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## THE AMERICAN PLAN FOR SOCIAL SECURITY; A COMMENT

Eveline M. Burns

Dr. McConnell's article<sup>1</sup> in the November issue of this JOURNAL criticizes a number of the proposals in the *Security, Work, and Relief Policies* report of the National Resources Planning Board. Many of the points he makes raise important and debatable issues. But three of his criticisms, namely, those concerning the nature of the proposed work program and the workers for whom it is intended, and the role of the regional unit of administration are based on so complete a misinterpretation of what was actually proposed in the report that I should appreciate the opportunity of correcting the impression given in Dr. McConnell's article.

### 1

Dr. McConnell states that the report proposes a work program that is to be exclusively for the "unemployable" or marginal worker. He cites in support of his assertion a reference in the document to "workers with relatively long periods of unemployment or those whose prospects of reabsorption are remote" (p. 512). He neglects to point out, however, that in its context this sentence is merely a summarization of a fuller discussion in which it is specifically stated that the general work program "should concentrate upon the un-

<sup>1</sup> This article is a rejoinder to the article of Dr. John W. McConnell in the November issue of this JOURNAL.

employed whose employment status has been interrupted for a relatively long period or whose prospects of re-employment in private industry are obviously remote *because of prevailing economic conditions*" (p. 506, my italics). This last clause, which Dr. McConnell does not quote, makes it clear, as does the preceding discussion (pp. 505-508), that the failure to obtain private employment is not due to qualities in the workers themselves but to prevailing economic facts, such as a continued depression, a declining industry, or residence in a depressed area.

Again and again throughout the recommendations, it is made clear that the persons for whom the general work program is to be available are people of normal employability: "... employment on public work projects should be dependent on standards of performance and efficiency similar to those normally required in private employment" (p. 505); "Access to the program should not be dependent upon undergoing an investigation of economic need" (p. 546); "Access to the work program should be through the employment office" (p. 546); "In referring applicants to the project administrators the employment service would select solely on the basis of labor market and employment considerations . . . those who have charge of the operation of work projects . . . must, like private employers, in the last resort have freedom to reject unsuitable applicants" (pp. 513-514).

Any final doubts as to the character of the group for whom the general work programs were intended could have been resolved by reference to page 506 where special therapeutic work programs for the "unemployables and less than normally efficient workers" are proposed. In proposing that these be kept separate from the general work program, the report specifically states "The development of special work programs would also facilitate the limitation of the general work program to those who can meet reasonable standards of performance and efficiency. For there would then be



available a program more appropriate for workers who cannot meet these standards" (p. 506).

## 2

Dr. McConnell charges that, in outlining the character of the public-work program, the writers of the report were unaware of the "elemental facts of worker's psychology" and make no proper provision for diversification of work or for the other conditions of employment that make a worker feel a job is a *real* job. Reference to chapter 9, where the WPA program is subjected to a critical analysis will, I think, convince any reader that the authors of the report were well aware of these elements (*see* especially pp. 243-251). They were also emphasized in the analysis of the local work programs. The recommendations lay considerable stress on the changes to be made, as compared with previous practice, if the worker is to feel that public work is to be regarded by the worker as a real job (e.g., by providing the customary guarantees of workmen's compensation, etc., by using adequate and appropriate machinery and equipment, by more diversification, and by careful advance planning so that the work will be in a real sense useful to and respected by the community). The report also drew attention to the price the country would have to be prepared to pay if such a program was to materialize and, in particular, pointed out that greater diversification of projects would mean that "some of these projects may well involve government in certain fields traditionally regarded as the preserve of private enterprise" (p. 491).

It is true that the report does not propose a permanent program of government work (other than that which would develop from the proposed expansion of public services) "with the intention of continuing as a going concern and not merely . . . as a temporary answer to mass unemployment." The reasons for proposing a more limited program are to be found on pages 490-491 and 504-508 and obviously involve matters of judgment and, as such, are subject

to debate. But I would submit that, in view of what is still the prevailing attitude on the part of the people of this country (including many workers) to "government ownership and operation," the report was following out Dr. McConnell's own injunction to take into account "worker's psychology," when it refrained from recommending so vast an expansion of government activity as his proposals would involve.

## 3

Dr. McConnell states that the report makes no comment on the use of regional administrative subdivisions or of their potentialities. On the contrary, the recommendations specifically urge "a fuller utilization of the regional basis or organization [which] offers the possibility of avoiding some of the less desirable characteristics of highly centralized administration, while overcoming some of the limitations of purely state-administered programs" and proceed to outline some of the steps that must be taken if the regional basis of organization is to be made more effective (pp. 499-500).

Recognition of the importance of regions as administrative units is also clear in the recommendations on the level of public-aid payments, where the suggestion is made (p. 514) that there should be regional minimums. Finally, the importance attached to the region is evident from the italicized conclusion of the critical analysis of the present use of regional units by the Federal agencies (pp. 404-406): "Finally and most importantly, the lack of coincidence of the geographical areas falling within the responsibility of the regional offices of the several Federal programs introduces obstacles to both the evaluation of, and the coordinated planning for, the improvement of the public aid programs operating within a given region."

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*Eveline M. Burns* is not a new writer for this JOURNAL. Her article in the November issue has been discussed widely.

## THE GREMLIN MYTH

Charles Massinger

All humanity lives under the influence of myths. Every man exercises the myth-making faculty to such extent as his intellect or limitations of it, his imagination, his environment prompt him to. These we might consider his inner myths, those illusions, perhaps, that he himself invents to circumvent the rigors of existence. From without there races in upon him a mass of mythical ideas that we might call external myths, which can be broadly classified in such categories as sociological, political, or religious myths. These cannot concern us here, since this paper is concerned with the single thesis of the nature of the "inner myth": the personally created illusion emerging from the impact of the individual with environment.

In its issue of December 7, 1942, the illustrated weekly magazine *Life* published a series of pictures and some scanty remarks concerning a phase of thinking that had become prevalent in the Royal Air Force and had subsequently infected the psychology of the American airmen in the present war. The matter was considered under the title of "Gremlins" and the Gremlins were depicted as being fantastic imps of both sexes who busied themselves constantly with hideous activities designed to destroy the proper functioning of the machines, and to deal death to the operators of them. Obviously, the matter was treated in a semi-, if not actually, humorous vein, and one might readily have gained the impression that here was another myth about a myth. Yet, from time to time reports have seeped through to the outside world that the psychological equation in the life of the flyer is a serious one; that the Air Corps administration concerns itself gravely with the problem of mental equilibrium in training and in combat. The matter of the "Gremlins" offers an absorbing problem in the field of psychological and philosophical investigation. It is quite possible that the Air Force is keenly aware of this problem, that it is giving it the most search-

ing analysis its psychiatric experts can bring to it, but the civilian world cannot be informed of these investigations at present and perhaps never will be.

Meantime from the standpoint of the civilian observer, the "Gremlin" article raises an absorbing problem in the analysis of the cause of such a myth on the part of the airmen. What are some of the circumstances that have led so large a body of men to believe so vividly in the existence of a world of fantastic and vicious little creatures that they are consciously aware of their actual presence under certain conditions? To explain this, it is necessary to look into the matter of sense impressions received under extraordinary circumstances, and if, in our study, we must take account of such sense impressions as fear, hallucinations, and illusions we should by no means consider these as derogatory to the character of the men involved. The adaptation of the peaceful, normal thinking man to the status of an air warrior cannot be completely accomplished without powerful changes in his psychological processes. Peaceful mind-sets and instinctive self-preservatory habits cannot be entirely eradicated.

That illusion is contributory to the "Gremlin" belief seems almost self-evident. While no records are available to substantiate the statement, it seems unlikely that those men who are now conscious of such a belief were even remotely given to indulgence in such fancies in the pursuance of their normal activities. Then, how has such an illusion occurred, if we can presume that the illusory faculty does enter into this experience? Illusion is explained as being "The experience and the result of misconstruing or misinterpreting some real sense stimulus . . . something actually stimulates the senses, and the sense experience itself is produced in a normal manner, but, owing to established habits of rapid association, the observer mistakes the thing for something different."<sup>1</sup>

Without using a detailed breakdown explanation of the forego-

<sup>1</sup> See "Illusion," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*

ing statement, it would seem clearly to throw some light on our subject. The visual, auditory, factual, and kinesthetic stimulations come from the darkness, cold, rushing wind and a variety of noises and vibrations of the machine, and these cause tenseness, alertness, and concern for the proper and efficient functioning of it and the armament. If pilots had sufficient time to think rationally about machine deficiencies under actual combat flying conditions, it is doubtful whether the pixy conception would have crept into their psychology. However, the habit of *rapid association* leads to fantastic imaginings rather than rational conclusions and the flyer presumes that some unaccustomed noise of the motor, some unusualness in the functioning of the plane, or some alarming circumstance such as the ripping of the wing covering, the jamming of a gun, the snapping of a vitally important wire or cable has been caused by some *abnormal* agent.

The Gremlins are accused of being responsible for all such difficulties and dangers. But this brings us face to face with the stark proposition that, regardless of the thoroughness of the training of the fighter airman, the breadth of his scientific knowledge relative to cause and effect of stress on the fighting machine, he has invented his own interpretation of these! This is explained by the observations on "Illusion" in the Encyclopaedia Britannica which says, "The normality and indeed the inevitableness of so many illusions constitute one of the serious problems in any attempt to vindicate the validity of human knowledge." Instruction in the case of the flyer can only prepare him theoretically for the conditions of combat. Combat simulated in training can only be a mild substitute for actual combat. Knowledge gained during the training period can only partially meet the exigencies of the situation. Many other momentary and almost inexplicable elements enter into the flyer's attempt to meet the situation successfully. It is possible the "Gremlin" belief serves some valuable purpose, which we will consider later on in this study when the matter of fancy and fiction in dan-

gerous living is considered. For the present, contributory psychological factors claim our attention.

The investigations of modern psychology into the mental processes have led to the conclusion that bodily condition can have a strongly determining effect upon the working of the mind. It can scarcely be doubted that this phenomenon can be considered pathological in its origin. The findings of neurologists and psychiatrists relative to both illusions and hallucinations (for our purposes interpreted as taking on the guise of a myth) emphasize strongly the pathological factor in these types of mental states. Both illusion and hallucination come under the general category of *false sense impressions*. The former seems to be less indicative of a dangerous mental condition and, as has been suggested, is partially *normal* in its occurrence. The hallucination state might be said to tend more toward a condition of hypnosis. Regardless of the unsavory implication of it, it is possible that hallucination may be a factor in the "Gremlin" myth.

Neurologists tell us that hallucination consists of "the experiencing of a sensory presentation having a sensory vividness that distinguishes perception from representative imagery induced by some stimulation of the sense organ coming from without or within the body." It can be auditory or visual. We have given some consideration to the external causes of the subject in discussing the illusion factor. If we choose to grant that hallucination may also be a part of this phenomenon, we are led to a consideration of the inner causes of it.

In 1901, Dr. H. Head of Chicago disclosed that patients suffering from more or less painful disorders of the heart, lungs, and abdominal viscera were liable to experience hallucinations of a peculiar kind. He found that visceral hallucinations, which were constantly accompanied by headache, were most commonly visual, rarely auditory. Where auditory visceral hallucinations occurred, Dr. Head proved that it was in no instance vocal but took such forms as

sounds of tapping, scratching, or rumbling. At all times the faculty, whether auditory or visual, was the result of an intense emotional state

It would be unwise to offer these theories of hallucinations as conclusive proof that they are actually a part of the "Gremlin" belief, yet they do seem to shed some explanatory light on its existence. We do know that headache among the less specialized fighting forces constitutes a decided problem to the psychiatric specialists in the Army. Night flying, high altitudes, blind flying, diving, and other stunts necessary to the effective manipulation of planes in combat apparently tend to effect extraordinary changes in the organic and subsequently the nervous balance of the men. A chronic irritation of the sensory nerves ensues. The cortical system, ordinarily functioning smoothly in the reception of ordinary sense impressions, is flooded by a constant stream of new and unaccustomed impressions. The usual cortical channels become blocked and there is a damming up of sensations that cannot find an accustomed interpretation. Dr. Head explains this condition by saying "any such constant irritation (of the brain channels) supplies a stream of disorderly impulses rising constantly from the sense organ, for the reception of which the brain has no appropriate system." If we accept the thesis that delusion is a resultant phenomenon of bodily disorders, the findings of the Head investigations would seem to throw further light on the subject of the "Gremlins."

But it is also possible that fear may be a contributing factor in the matter and here we reach less uncertain ground and come to a more cheerful (or perhaps less serious) consideration of the problem; for fear is both a natural and a valuable instinct, which arises in the face of danger and in direct proportion to the extent it is controlled. With the added factor of awareness, which it arouses, it can avert disaster. Where fear can serve as a preservative agent it is a valuable asset.

William James says that "fear is a reaction aroused by the same

object that arouses ferocity . . . we both fear and wish to kill anything that may kill us. In civilized life, in particular, it has at least become possible for large numbers of people to pass from the cradle to the grave without ever having had a pang of genuine fear. The atrocities of life become 'like a tale of little meaning though the words are strong' (to most individuals)." The point has been made before in this study that the great percentage of the flying corps has come from the ranks of those previously uninitiated into the hazards of the air—even in peacetime. Those who had had previous air combat experience are probably not "Gremlin" believers. The business of death in the air is to them a grim reality and they invent no fiction concerning it. But many of the younger fliers would have, like James's protected souls, "passed from the cradle to the grave without a pang of genuine fear," had there been no war. Thus, we must surmise that they have invented their own peculiar fancies and retreats to meet this dangerous situation.

To suppose that the "Gremlin" myth can be anything but a matter of serious concern, an idea resultant from the impact of man with the supernatural, is empty thinking. James states that "fear of the supernatural is one variety of fear . . . certain ideas of supernatural agency, associated with real circumstances produce a peculiar kind of horror. This horror is probably explicable as the result of a combination of simpler horrors. To bring the ghostly terror to its maximum, many usual elements of the dreadful must combine, such as loneliness, darkness, inexplicable sounds of a dismal character, moving figures half discerned and vertiginous baffling of expectations." All these things would seem to be contributory factors in the airmen's belief in a world of supernatural beings. We must grant, however, that the teleology of fear is largely dubious; that we can consider its appearance either as a result of pathological disturbance or as a useful and normal functioning of the self-preservative instinct. In the case of the pixy belief it is probably more strongly the latter than the former.



Perhaps the least alarming of the possible psychological elements in this bit of aviation lore is the consideration that it may result from temporary neurosis. The word itself has an unpalatable connotation but only through the agency of misconception. Investigators of abnormal psychology have long ceased to class neuroses among the more dangerous of the mind's aberrations. They recognize that in some form or other neurosis forms a partial concomitant of the mentality of mankind generally and they have taken pains to arrive at a determination of the meaning of the term that has completely divested it of the unsavory connotation popularly ascribed to it. The neurologists have concluded that neuroses are functional nervous disorders and from this conclusion we might safely assume that they can, under certain circumstances, serve a salutary purpose. Their investigations have led to the conclusion that they represent little more than one particular way of responding to difficult stages in mental development, which are of universal occurrence. Neuroses really constitute varieties of social adjustment, rather than any disease in the ordinary sense. Such nervous disorders do not happen to a person as an infection or an accident may; they are integral and dynamic expressions of the personality. They cannot be described without imparting the idea of purpose, the idea of their being designed to meet certain mental situations.

And thus, if neurosis may ultimately be found to be a partial factor in the "Gremlin" belief, this myth may be contributory to a more successful solution of living under difficult and dangerous circumstances. It then serves an age-old purpose, for it enables the believer to meet the unpredictable mutations of living with greater equanimity.

Quite justifiably we may say that the "Gremlin" myth serves the useful purpose of filling in those inevitable gaps frequently occurring in the thought trends of rational man, for no man lives by fact and reason alone. And thus it may come about that such a dramatic fiction as we are here considering may reveal to its believer more the

movement and the reality of existence than any rational experience or prosaic observation could ever do. In fact there might be more reality in *seeming*, although we could grant that *seeing* might be the naked truth. No one has ever seen a "Gremlin"!

Finally in the case of the "Gremlins" can we presume that such a fancy supports a fact? Here nothing convinces us that we have arrived at a substantial truth, although the idea itself poses such fascinating problems. In fact we should be inclined to accept the idea but discard the fact which it implies, following, in our rejection of the fact possibility, Dr. Marie Collins Swabey's explanation of such a procedure. Dr. Swabey suggests that "an idea may be taken as contrary to fact in at least two ways. In the first place, it may be regarded both as disagreeing with the facts of the physical world and as theoretically incomprehensible (through its apparent fantasy or inconsistency with other beliefs). Such an idea is plainly a falsehood. Yet if, instead of rejecting it as in the case of most falsehoods, the mind retains it as possessing some practical and emotional value, it is called a fiction. The mental attitude is one of feigning. That is, the idea is asserted *as if* true, even though the person holding it recognizes it as both factually and theoretically impossible. He continues to put it forward because he finds it emotionally satisfying . . ."

Thus, while we can hardly believe that the "Gremlin" belief springs from the side of man's deliberative nature, we can scarcely question the point that it must have some efficacious purpose, for in danger man seemingly invents his own essential postulates. Fiction may assume the guise of fact if only temporarily. The battle of the skies robs man of those stable mental moorings of accustomed existence. For the flyer the philosophical aura of the modern world that strips nature of personality and reduces it to the unknown cause of an orderly impression on our senses has vanished. Suddenly, in a strange environment, the army of spirits which has been receding farther and farther from us, banished by the magic wand of science,

returns to taunt the airmen in the skies. The myths and fables of an older age and long forgotten peoples begin to reassert themselves. Can it be that they are the refuge of the troubled mind?

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## ENROLLMENT OF BLIND PUPILS IN THE UNITED STATES

Berthold Lowenfeld and Evelyn C. McKay

It has long been recognized that the number of pupils enrolled in schools and classes for the blind, in proportion to the general population, varies from State to State. The extent of such variation, however, and its underlying causes have never been subjected to statistical analysis. Through presentation and interpretation of available data, this paper will attempt to set forth the facts regarding variation of blind-pupil enrollment in different parts of the United States; to indicate some of the factors involved; to trace and evaluate these factors; and to develop statistical criteria for future studies.

Before undertaking to discuss the data presented, it should probably be explained that, because of the comparatively small number of blind children in the total population, the provision of special educational facilities for them in their home communities is seldom practicable. The majority of blind children, therefore, are educated in residential schools, either maintained by the State or receiving State aid. In a few large cities, special classes for the blind (known as "braille" or "day-school" classes) are maintained in the public schools. The term "blind enrollment" used throughout this paper includes pupils of both residential schools and day-school classes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For educational purposes, the definition of blindness approved by the American Association of Workers for the Blind is "a person is blind who cannot safely or profitably be trained in the manner of the seeing. It is generally agreed that a person with visual acuity in the better eye of less than 20/200 should be instructed by use of tactile methods." *Proceedings of the American Association of Workers for the Blind*, 1929, p. 183

It should also be pointed out that the children referred to in this study as blind are those who receive their education mainly by tactual instead of visual methods—for instance, by reading embossed print with their fingers, by using embossed maps, etc. In a few residential schools so-called “sight conservation” or “sight-saving” classes are provided for children who, though suffering from visual defects, are able to learn to a certain extent from specially adapted visual material. Neither these children nor children in sight-conservation classes in public schools are included in blind enrollment.

Particular attention will be given in this study to the group of children in schools and classes for the blind who, on the basis of their visual efficiency, should actually not be educated by tactual methods. These children are frequently sent to schools for the blind for reasons other than defective vision, although they may be able to attend sight-saving classes or even regular classes in public schools. Their education by “blind methods” in residential schools seems, therefore, to be unjustifiable.

For the purposes of this study the total enrollment of children in public, private, and parochial schools, both elementary and secondary, is referred to as “general enrollment.” Comparison of blind enrollment with general enrollment by States and regions not only reveals certain statistically significant data but also offers an opportunity for interpretation of variations in rates of enrollment.

While the available data yield a rate of blind enrollment to general enrollment as it actually exists, interpretation of the data in the light of underlying causes will lead to a “corrected” rate of blind enrollment which would meet the standards set by our present knowledge in the fields of ophthalmology and education.

The study follows the grouping of States into regional divisions as outlined in Odum's *Southern Regions of the United States*.<sup>1</sup>

Statistics published by the United States Office of Education fur-

<sup>1</sup> Howard W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), pp. 5-11.

nish the data on the enrollment of pupils in public schools<sup>3</sup> and in private and parochial schools.<sup>4</sup> Figures for the public and nonpublic schools were added, State by State, and are presented in Table I<sup>5</sup> under the heading "General Enrollment, 1938."

Data on enrollment of pupils in residential schools and day-school classes for the blind<sup>6</sup> were compiled by the American Foundation for the Blind and represent the number of pupils as of January 1, 1938.<sup>7</sup> Supplementary information was secured by direct correspondence with the responsible authorities. Of the total blind enrollment of 6,222 reported for 1938, 5,713 (92 per cent) were in residential schools for the blind, and 509 (8 per cent) were attending classes for the blind in the public schools.

Figures for general population in the age group 5-19 years and for age distribution of the population for each State are taken from the 1940 census of population.<sup>8</sup> The total population reported in this age group was 34,764,080.

Table I presents a comparison of blind enrollment and general enrollment by regions. Since the resulting rate varies greatly from State to State and from region to region, figures on the general population of school age (5-19 years) have been included, in order to indicate the proportion of the school-age population actually attending schools. The percentage of this school-age population in school varies from 73.3 in Louisiana to 92.0 in Oklahoma. Regionally, New England, Middle Atlantic, Middlewest, Northwest, and Far West show no great differences in this respect, ranging

<sup>3</sup> Biennial Survey of Education in the United States: *Statistics of State School Systems, 1937-38* Bulletin 1940, No. 2, Ch. 11, Table III, p. 9 Federal Security Agency (Washington, D. C.: United States Office of Education)

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Table 62, pp. 169-170.

<sup>5</sup> See page 375 for tables.

<sup>6</sup> Ruth Elizabeth Wilcox and Helga Lende, compilers, *Directory of Activities for the Blind in the United States and Canada* (3d ed., New York: American Foundation for the Blind, 1938).

<sup>7</sup> The present study refers to the year 1938, because this was the most recent year for which all comparable data were available.

<sup>8</sup> *Sixteenth Census of the United States 1940. "Population Characteristics"* (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census)

from 83.8 to 87.4 per cent. The southeast and southwest regions however, show a notably smaller proportion enrolled in schools, 76.1 and 80.0 per cent, respectively.

It might have been expected that the factors that are responsible for this variation in percentage of enrollment of school-age population would have a similar effect on the rates of blind enrollment, but this is not the case. As the figures for the States show, the variations in the rate of blind enrollment to general enrollment bear no apparent relation to the variations in proportional enrollment of school-age population. The question therefore arises as to what are the underlying causes for the differences in the rates of blind enrollment per 100,000 general enrollment from State to State and from region to region. In general, these differences seem to follow a geographic pattern. Again, New England, Middle Atlantic, Middle-west, Northwest, and Far West show no striking variation, the regional rates ranging from 18.9 to 20.5. The two southern regions, Southeast and Southwest, however, have much higher rates, 25.3 and 30.0, respectively. There is a variation of rates from State to State in the seven regions—with the following differences: in New England, New Hampshire (14.2) has the lowest and Rhode Island (24.1) the highest rate; in the Middle Atlantic, New Jersey (15.9) shows the lowest, while the rates of Maryland (25.2) and West Virginia (28.5), the two most southern States in this region, are much higher; in the Southeast, Mississippi (15.5) and Georgia (17.7) show very low rates, contrary to the general trend in this region, while North Carolina (33.4) has a very high rate; in the Middle region, Missouri (13.0) has the lowest and Iowa (32.5) has the highest rate; in the Southwest, Oklahoma (24.5) has the lowest and Arizona (38.6) and New Mexico (65.5) have the highest rates; in the Northwest, Nebraska (17.5) and Colorado (17.6) are low and North Dakota (24.9) and South Dakota (25.4) are higher in their rates; the Far West shows California (14.6) with the lowest and Oregon (43.9) with the highest rate in this region. Such striking

difference in rates of blind enrollment per 100,000 general enrollment should receive careful consideration by the State and local authorities concerned and lead to some action on their part. A further study of the same subject, presenting the figures for some later year, will be prepared, which should be indicative of trends.

There are various factors that may be responsible for the wide variations in rate discussed above, among them the following:

1. A genuine difference in incidence of blindness among children
2. The degree of effectiveness of case-finding procedures
3. Social or economic factors that work in favor of or against
  - a) the extent to which educational facilities for blind children are provided, and
  - b) the extent to which they are enabled to utilize such facilities
4. Differences in standards of admission to schools and classes for the blind, particularly in regard to the definition of blindness

The first three factors can be evaluated only locally by persons who have a thorough knowledge of conditions prevailing in the area concerned. The last mentioned factor lends itself more readily to further analysis, because reliable data on degree of visual handicap were available on blind enrollment in 1938.

Through the efforts of the Committee on Statistics of the Blind, sponsored jointly by the American Foundation for the Blind and the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, records for the school year 1937-1938 were available on the degree of vision of 3,993 children in 39 schools and classes for the blind.<sup>9</sup> It is generally considered that children with visual acuity of less than 20/200 (Snellen measurements) in the better eye with correcting lenses should be educated in schools or classes for the blind. Children with visual acuity between 20/200 and 20/70 belong in sight-conservation classes and children with vision better than 20/70 should in general—as far as their vision is concerned—be able to participate in regular

<sup>9</sup> C Edith Kerby and Evelyn C McKay, "Eye Conditions Among Pupils in Schools for the Blind, 1937-38," *Outlook for the Blind*, xxviii (December 1939), pp 140-144

public-school instruction. Children with visual acuity of 20/200 are borderline cases and their educational placement depends on the adjustment and intelligence of the individual child. In order to make the findings of this paper conservative, these borderline children have been considered as belonging to the group for whom tactual education is appropriate.

Table II presents, besides the blind enrollment and the rate of blind enrollment per 100,000 general enrollment, the total number of cases for which amount of vision was reported and the number of pupils whose vision was better than 20/200. Pupils belonging to this latter group should, because of their high degree of vision, not be educated in schools or classes for the blind. In addition, Table II gives the regional percentage figures for this high-vision group as compared with the total number of cases for which degree of vision is reported. The number of pupils in the group with vision better than 20/200 shows, as far as data were available, great differences from State to State reflecting clearly different standards in the admission policies of schools and classes for the blind. The comparatively high rate of blind enrollment per 100,000 general enrollment in certain States coincides with, and may find an explanation in, the large number of pupils in the high-vision group. The lack of data on distribution by degree of vision for some States with particularly high rates of blind enrollment makes definite conclusions difficult.

Table III, "Actual and 'Corrected' Blind Enrollment by Regions," is essentially derived from Table II. The percentages available show that in two regions, Southwest and Far West, the coverage could not be considered representative, being only 20.2 and 25.8 per cent, respectively. In the five other regions, the proportion of cases covered by eye records was sufficiently large (52.2 to 100.0 per cent) to be regarded as a representative sample and to justify the drawing of conclusions. The percentages of pupils with too much vision to belong in schools and classes for the blind are given in the second column. New England with 5.1 per cent and the Northwest with



17.4 per cent are the extremes. The next column gives the total blind enrollment for the respective regions. The "corrected" blind enrollment is arrived at by applying the percentage of high-vision pupils, as determined by the sample, to the total enrollment and subtracting the resulting number from the total enrollment. We then find that, instead of the actual blind enrollment of 6,222 pupils, the "corrected" blind enrollment would be only 5,569, which represents a reduction of 10.5 per cent in the number of pupils in the United States for whom education in schools or classes for the blind need be provided. The importance of such a reduction, from the standpoint of school administration, as well as that of financial expenditure, needs no further emphasis. Most serious of all considerations, however, is the effect upon these seeing children who are placed in an environment and educated by methods that by their very nature are entirely unsuited to the children's needs.

As a matter of further clarification, Table III presents the actual rate and the "corrected" rate of blind enrollment per 100,000 general enrollment. The "corrected" rate still follows a geographic pattern. New England, Middle Atlantic, and Northwest vary only from 17.0 to 18.1. The Southeast, however, shows a "corrected" rate of 22.5, which seems to point to a genuinely higher incidence of blindness in that area unless other explanations can be found. As pointed out previously, data for the Southwest which might support this assumption were unfortunately not available for 1938. The high rate of blind enrollment in this region supports our assumption.

Turning finally to the rate of blind enrollment per 100,000 general enrollment for the United States as a whole, a word might be added to explain the reason for using a rate of blind enrollment per 100,000 general enrollment rather than per 100,000 school-age population. Blind enrollment includes all pupils in residential schools and public-school classes for the blind without regard to age limit. (About 10 per cent of the blind enrollment is above nineteen years of age.) Furthermore, it does not include children who may be edu-

cated elsewhere or left without education. The figures for general enrollment have these same characteristics, while those given for school population (age 5-19 years) are based on a comprehensive census and represent an exactly defined measure of a certain age group of the population. A comparison of blind enrollment with general enrollment seemed therefore preferable.

Kerby states in her report for 1939-1940: "It is estimated that approximately three-fourths of the entire group receiving special education as blind persons in the elementary and secondary grades are included. . . ." and "The estimates that we have computed show a rate of 17.8 blind per 100,000 of the population of school age."<sup>30</sup> Our material, using complete figures for blind enrollment and the population of school age as determined in the 1940 census, results in a rate of 17.9 per 100,000 of the school-age population for the United States as a whole, confirming Kerby's estimate.

On the basis of the information submitted in this study we find that, in 1938, for every 100,000 pupils enrolled in public schools, 21.7 pupils were enrolled in schools and classes for the blind. If all pupils with vision better than 20/200 had been properly placed in public schools only 19.4 pupils for each 100,000 of the general enrollment would have been attending special schools for the blind. This "corrected" rate of blind enrollment will be realized, when children whose vision makes tactual education unnecessary are provided for adequately and more suitably outside the schools and classes for the blind. This is an aim for which all educational administrators, whether in the general or the special field, should strive.

<sup>30</sup> C. Edith Kerby, "Eye Conditions Among Pupils in Schools for the Blind in the United States, 1939-40," *Outlook for the Blind and the Teachers Forum*, xxxvi (February 1942), pp. 16, 18

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# ENROLLMENT OF BLIND PUPILS

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TABLE I

## BLIND ENROLLMENT AND GENERAL ENROLLMENT BY REGIONS

Region	Blind Enrollment 1938	General Enrollment 1938	Rate of Blind Enrollment per 100,000 General Enrollment	Population Age 5 to 19 Years 1940	Per Cent of Population Age 5 to 19 Years Enrolled
New England	346	1,813,419	19.1	2,479,978	87.2
Middle Atlantic	1,284	6,811,458	18.9	7,955,988	85.6
Southeast	1,700	6,702,846	25.3	8,813,643	76.1
Middlewest	1,473	7,441,641	19.8	8,878,319	83.8
Southwest	692	2,306,706	30.0	2,884,352	80.0
Northwest	355	1,732,096	20.5	2,030,396	85.3
Far West	372	1,854,425	20.1	2,121,404	87.4
Totals	6,222	28,662,591	21.7	34,764,080	82.4

TABLE II

## BLIND ENROLLMENT AND DISTRIBUTION BY AMOUNT OF VISION

Region	Blind Enrollment 1938	Rate of Blind Enrollment per 100,000 General Enrollment	Distribution by Amount of Vision		
			Cases Reported	Better Than 20/200 Number	Per Cent
New England	346	19.1	350	18	5.1
Middle Atlantic	1,284	18.9	1,006	76	7.6
Southeast	1,700	25.3	888	101	11.4
Middlewest	1,473	19.8	1,254	136	10.8
Southwest	692	30.0	(140)	(12)	(8.6)
Northwest	355	20.5	242	42	17.4
Far West	372	20.1	(96)	(33)	(34.4)
Totals	6,222	21.7	3,976	418	10.5

NOTE: Figures in parentheses are not representative because they are based on too small percentages.

TABLE III

## ACTUAL AND "CORRECTED" BLIND ENROLLMENT BY REGIONS

Region	Per Cent of Blind Enrollment for Which Eye Records Were Available	Per Cent of Eye Records Showing Vision Better Than 20/200	Total Blind Enrollment 1938	"Corrected" Blind Enrollment	Rate of Blind Enrollment per 100,000 General Enrollment Actual	"Corrected" Rate
New England	100.0	5.1	346	328	19.1	18.1
Middle Atlantic	78.3	7.6	1,284	1,186	18.9	17.4
Southeast	52.2	11.4	1,700	1,506	25.3	22.5
Middlewest	85.1	10.8	1,473	1,314	19.8	17.7
Northwest	68.2	17.4	355	293	20.5	17.0
Total for the seven regions of the United States	63.9	10.5	6,222	5,569	21.7	19.4

NOTE: Figures for two regions, Southwest and Far West, are not included in the tabulation because eye records were available for only 20.2 and 25.8 per cent, respectively, of the blind enrollment; figures for these two regions, however, are included in the total.

## THE EXPERIENCE BACKGROUND OF TEACHERS IN TRAINING

E. DeAlton Partridge

Studies of the way in which children learn have shown that they can be taught real meanings only through actual experience. What a child gains from reading a book, for example, is determined to a large extent by what his past experience has been. This, of course, is why modern educators place so much stress upon activity curriculum, field trips, and community education, in order that learning may be more exact and organized around related whole experiences.

Those who study educational psychology in college these days read passages like the following in their texts:

Throughout our entire discussion on the nature of meaning and the development of understanding, we have constantly emphasized the importance of extending, enriching, and deepening the individual's experience. How can the school accomplish this purpose?

One of the first steps should be to exploit the local environment, to the fullest possible extent. Nature study, general science biology, and physical science are usually too bookish as they are now taught. The woods, streams, rocks, farm lands, and natural phenomena of all kinds are laboratories as essential as the formal laboratory and classroom. . . .<sup>1</sup>

If the teaching process must be rooted in reality, then those who are trained as teachers should have a background of real experience themselves. A teacher who has been trained only in book learning is hardly adequately prepared to use the immediate environment, to help youngsters develop concepts based on reality. Where the experience background of the teacher is limited, the teaching process often deteriorates into a process of word learning and word repetition with little direct reference to actuality.

The Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council on Education noted the effect of this deficiency upon the efficiency

<sup>1</sup> Arthur I. Gates, Arthur T. Jersild, T. R. McConnell, and Robert C. Challman, *Educational Psychology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942), p. 443.

of teachers. The Director of the Commission, Karl W. Bigelow, has observed that

. . . As the period of teacher-preparation lengthens, the importance of early and continuous contact with reality increases. The study of scientific findings regarding children is essential . . . but so is the study of children. The same may be said with respect to the community. Nor is it enough to study the child and the community merely in the sense of observation. Opportunities to work responsibly with young people and older groups must be provided. Another type of first-hand experience that may be mentioned has to do with self-expression. Such expression may be through the creative use of words, or paint, or clay, or other artistic media; it may be through social relations in groups formed for recreational or other purposes.

In the preparation of teachers great stress is placed on courses. In order to graduate from a teacher-training institution the student must fill groups of course requirements. Specific courses are listed in most certifying requirements in the various States. These requirements are set forth as the minimum background necessary for successful teaching.

But if the psychologists are right, book and classroom learning may not be enough. They suggest that exact and full meanings can come only from firsthand experience and that the best teachers, other things being equal, are those who have a wide experience background. For example, it is a travesty for teachers who have never seen a farm, let alone lived on one, to try and talk to youngsters about life on the farm.

This is the report of a study that has attempted some preliminary explorations into the experience background of teachers in training to determine how much individual variation there is in this respect. The investigation was suggested, when the writer discovered in a sophomore class in educational psychology that nearly one third of the students were under the impression that the average chicken laid ten or more eggs a week.

### The Instrument

A questionnaire titled "Reality Inventory" was prepared for distribution among students in teachers colleges. The blank consisted of three full pages, the first of which was made up largely of general questions such as sex, year in college, size of home city, hobbies, major field of interest, etc. The balance of the blank contained 74 specific questions about previous experiences. The student was asked to indicate after each statement whether he had "never" had the experience, whether he had had it "sometime in his life," "within the past month," or "within the past year."

### Subjects of the Study

The 414 (338 women, 76 men) students who filled out the questionnaire were from four State teachers colleges, all located in a large city or within a metropolitan area. The students represented all class levels from freshmen to seniors and were selected more or less at random throughout each of the colleges. The preponderance of women students is indicative of the sex ratio in the student bodies of the colleges.

Instructions to all students before they filled out the blanks included the statement that they should not sign their names and there was no attempt to identify the students through the blanks. This was in the hope of securing a more truthful response to the questions.

### Individual Differences in Experience Background

The individual differences in experience background as shown on the returned questionnaires are interesting. The range is wide, as shown by the fact that one student indicated only two items on the list of 74 which he had never experienced, while another student indicated 52 of the 74 were not in her experience background. Between these two extremes there was a distinct tendency toward a normal distribution with a median at 30.

In other words, there were shown wide individual differences in experience background that seemed to be distributed among the students in much the same way that intelligence is distributed. Men students showed a slightly wider range of experience than women, but the overlapping was great. The present investigation does not include data on the intelligence of the subjects but the relationship between experience background and mental ability suggests a field for further investigation.

If those who claim that experience background is important to good teaching are correct, then the administrator who hires teachers should recognize the wide individual differences that exist and include items of this kind in the personal interview. Furthermore, if experience background is important, then the institutions engaged in the training of teachers should have some method of measuring this background and some plan for enlarging it.

If the responses from this sampling of 414 undergraduates is typical and valid, then there are some cases of extreme lack in experience background among those who aspire to be teachers. Take as an example the following student, a mathematics major and science minor; freshman in college, male, age 17. He has been in two States besides the one in which he lives, thinks a chicken lays ten or more eggs a week. This student indicated on the questionnaire that he had never done 47 of the 74 things listed. Among those he indicated he had never experienced were the following:

Attended a professional stage play; visited a modern housing project; listened to a symphony clear through; ridden in a subway; been to an opera performed by a professional group; ridden in a taxi; stayed overnight in a hotel; been above 10,000 feet on a mountain; slept on the ground in the open or under a tent, hiked a distance of ten miles or more; preserved or helped preserve fruit; raised vegetables to eat, stayed awake all night; learned to drive a car; fixed a light plug; chopped wood with an ax; earned money by making something with his hands; been without food twenty-four hours or more except when ill; cooked a complete meal for two or more persons; cooked a meal out of doors; taken complete

care of a child or children under ten years of age for twenty-four hours or more.

Will this young man be adequately prepared to teach pupils to face the problems of American life after three more years of college if this experience background remains approximately the same? Will formal courses alone prepare him adequately? Should there be some way to guide him into a broader pattern of experience just as definitely as to guide him into a course of study? Should administrators who interview him for a job look into this type of information as well as into his scholastic ratings and character qualifications?

These are questions that naturally come to mind when one examines a record such as the one above—and his record is not an exception. Similar patterns can be found among the questionnaires for students of all levels in college, for both sexes and for most every subject-matter field. Certainly, if the psychologists who have studied the nature of learning and the way pupils acquire meanings are correct, then a student with an experience background such as that outlined above is not adequately prepared to be a good teacher upon the completion of courses alone.

#### Collective Experience Backgrounds

Just which of the 74 items on the questionnaire are most significant would be hard to prove. Perhaps some future study can show the relationship between successful teaching and certain patterns of past experience. However, until that time it will be necessary to observe the paucity of experience in some areas and speculate as to their significance.

To the writer, some of the most interesting tabulations center around the outdoor experiences of the students. Forty-three per cent of the women and 28 per cent of the men said they had never slept out of doors in their lives. Eleven per cent of the women and 8 per cent of the men answered no to the query of whether they had ever made a fire outdoors. These answers suggest that the average student body in eastern teachers colleges has a surprising lack of



real experience as a background for their future profession. In a world where millions of people are starving to death 82 per cent of the women and 74 per cent of the men students in this study have never been without food twenty-four hours or more except when they were ill. And yet these are the future teachers who try to help American youth gain appreciation for the problems of the world.

One eighth of the women and one third of the men have never cooked a complete meal for two or more people in their lives, while 62 per cent of the men and 50 per cent of the women have never preserved or helped preserve fruit. Are such persons prepared to teach the problems in relation to producing and conserving of food to the youth of our country? Will the course of study they are taking in college prepare them adequately?

In these days of stress on physical fitness, it is interesting to note that 53 per cent of the students (37 per cent of the men and 60 per cent of the women) say they have never walked ten miles or more at one time in their lives. Further investigation would no doubt show them equally lacking in experience in using their hands (31 per cent of the women in this study said they had never sawed a board through, 60 per cent had never fixed a light plug, and 36 per cent had never chopped wood with an ax).

On the other hand there are some experiences which seem to reach the majority of young people in this study. The experiences that most every student had include the following:

Ridden on a subway; ridden on a train; visited a museum, eaten in a restaurant; visited the city hall in their own city; been to New York City; attended a wedding; ridden in a taxi.

### Summary

This study, based on a questionnaire return from 414 (338 women, 76 men) teachers in training in four State teachers colleges would seem to indicate the following things:

1. The experience background of these undergraduates shows a wide variation among both men and women.

2. The individual scores, based on the number of experiences the students indicated they had never had, distribute themselves more or less normally over a wide range from 2 to 52.

3. Men have a slightly broader background of experience than women, but on the items included in this study the difference is not very great.

4. A surprising number of the students show a lack of actual experience in the activities common to Americans of a generation ago. Chopping wood, sleeping outdoors, raising and preserving food, walking, and similar activities are lacking in the background of many students.

5. Certain individuals who filled out the questionnaire show an unusual lack of experience so far in their lives and, unless some deliberate attempt is made to enrich this background, they will enter the teaching profession with shallow verbal concepts about many of the things they are expected to teach.

### Conclusions

This study is at best only a preliminary investigation and, as is usual in such instances, it raises more questions than it answers. Among the questions that come to mind are the following:

1. What is the relation between intelligence as measured on standardized tests and experience background?
2. What relation is there between experience background and success as a teacher?
3. How does the experience background of these teachers in training compare with other groups of similar age and economic background?
4. What efforts are being made by teacher-training institutions to meet this evident lack in the background of some students?

Concerning what teacher-training institutions could do to expand the experience background of their students, one can find programs in actual operation that certainly move in this direction. In some colleges an active program of field studies is a regular part of the college curriculum. Other colleges have camps that they use on week ends and during the summer to enable students to have experiences which would otherwise not be possible. Some liberal-arts colleges have worked out a plan of student work, along with

academic preparation, as a part of college training. These are all hopeful movements and would seem to produce a person much better suited to teach than those prepared only in classroom routine.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Race Question and the Negro*, by JOHN LA FARGE, S. J. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1943, 315 pages.

This work, with a rather curious title, is a new edition of the same author's *Interracial Justice*, which first appeared in 1937. The original work included discussions of "race" differences, the status of the Negro in the United States, issues such as economic opportunity, segregation and intermarriage, and the "solutions" offered. The four new chapters treat race relations as a world issue in wartime.

Generally speaking, this is a book by a Catholic leader for Catholic readers. This may be its greatest value. It applies, with copious quotations from official sources, the Catholic doctrine to this problem of American life. Books that are predicated on the accepted principles of an institution are doubtlessly much more influential within these areas than "outside" productions, which may deny the basic assumptions and beliefs.

*New World A-Coming*, by ROI OTTLEY. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943, 364 pages.

This book is the winner of a Life in America prize. It is a reportorial account of life in the Negro community of America, principally Harlem. The author has served for many years as reporter and columnist for the New York *Amsterdam Star News* as an apprenticeship for this task.

While the book gives a rich background of history and lore of the race relations of New York City, its value is perhaps much greater for the light it sheds upon the social milieu out of which the Negro comes. It should be an invaluable document for teachers and other workers who are in constant contact with the Negro. It should serve as a wholesome antidote for the stereotypes that dominate the public's thinking about him.

Questions such as the following are treated. What is the Negro's attitude toward the war? Do Negroes want Communism? What is slum shock? How does the Negro conceive himself in this world conflagration? Is he conscious of his role, and if so what is it in relation to the race relations of the United Nations?

The study is not done in protest fashion, after that of Richard Wright. It is objective, unemotional, simply written, and scholarly. The importance of the social backgrounds as a basis of educational development bristle from every page. Mr. Ottley has done a superb service in the presentation of this study.

*The Darker Brother*, by BUCKLIN MOON. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1943, 246 pages

This is a sincere effort by a liberal to present a picture of what goes on in Negro life today. It is, of course, a segment. The locale is Harlem. The characters are lower class in-migrants from the South who are caught up in the whirling processes of urbanization. Through them the reader sees events and movements that he may have read about in the newspapers.

This is a good first novel and is done with honesty and without condescension. However, it misses the positive drive for life which seems to be characteristic of Negro behavior these days.

*Brown Americans: The Story of a Tenth of the Nation*, by EDWIN R. EMBREE. New York: The Viking Press, 1943, 248 pages.

This is an improvement of *Brown America. The Story of a New Race*, by the same author, which appeared in 1931. The present work has been brought up-to-date in terms of new materials and the slightly changed language now used in discussing "race relations."

This book is mainly about the Negro in the South. It reflects the views of an informed liberal. In highly readable—and brief—chapters it summarizes the history of the Negro in the United States, describes his "progress" in education, labor, and the professions and states current obstacles encountered in the struggle for equal rights. There are profiles of outstanding Negro leaders. For the average reader, unfamiliar with the literature on the subject, this is an excellent introduction.

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## FOREWORD

"Custodians of human fulfillment." With this arresting phrase Ordway Tead concludes his essay on *The Case for Democracy*. With it we begin this symposium.

It should be emphasized at the outset that we are concerned here not with leadership, but with *leadership for and in a democracy*. We are concerned, therefore, not with leadership in general, which is an abstraction; and not with leadership as a particular or unique combination of traits, which is a fabrication; but with leadership as a dynamic relationship in a multitude of specific group situations.

What follows divides itself into three parts. The first two papers, by Lindeman and Lewin, provide a conceptual framework within which to examine actual case material. The second part consists of case material, descriptions of research and experimentation, and descriptions of leadership practices in the fields of education, recreation, and industry. The third part is a brief concluding article.

There is something of the imperative mood in these articles. They reflect a new realism—on the one hand a rigorous re-examination of basic assumptions, and on the other hand a reassuring reaffirmation of dependence upon scientific experimentation. In this spirit we transmit our symposium to all "custodians of human fulfillment."

CHARLES E. HENDRY

## LEADERSHIP: A FUNCTION OF DEMOCRATIC EXPERIENCE

Eduard C. Lindeman

I have often heard the late W. I. Thomas, one of the genuinely perspicacious sociologists, say, "Whatever is to be accounted for in terms of style and fashion explains a great deal about society as a whole." I begin this essay by paraphrasing this wise comment: *Whatever is characteristic of the games and sports of a people explains a great deal about its basic culture.*

The observer who watches a contest in one of the highly developed competitive sports such as baseball or football distinguishes three individuals on the playing field who appear in the role of leader: the umpire, the coach, and the captains of the rival teams. The umpire is a symbol of arbitrary authority. Whatever leadership he exercises derives from the authority and power vested in him. He is in one sense a dictator, although not of the crass variety since the competing teams have consented in advance to abide by his interpretation of the rules. Once he begins to officiate, he need not again refer to this consenting group. Indeed, if he should in a weak moment reverse a decision, he would thereby incur the disrespect of both players and spectators. The coach derives his leadership primarily from his proficiency. He is an expert. He may also be a person who is capable of generating among his players a warm attitude of attachment but this is not necessary for his success. His skills are transferable. He may coach one team this year and another the next, and if he decides to make such a change, he will most likely have been motivated not by conceptions of loyalty or affection, but rather by pecuniary considerations. The captain of the team is a leader of an entirely different variety. He may or may not be the best player on the team. His position as leader is the result of choice exercised by his teammates. He is in and of the group which he leads. He is the natural leader, the leader who appears wherever the democratic

process is permitted to operate. His leadership is a function, not of authority nor of expertness, but of democracy.

It is to be inferred from the above that democracies can and do make use of a wide variety of leaders. A democracy is not, as some observers seem to imply, a debating society in continuous session. Its people must act. The "game" must go on. Hence, there are certain situations in which democracies have ready recourse to leadership of the dictator variety. Also, a democratic society, such as ours for example, may solve many of its problems by means of a developing technology. This means an increasing body of experts must be made available. Specialized experts who derive their prestige from proficiency or competency are frequently impatient with democratic processes. They have bridges, houses, automobiles, and hydro-electric power plants to build. It would be senseless to submit the technical problems which they confront to debate. The answers they seek are not to be found in the realm of opinion but in the sphere of tested scientific knowledge.

It is to be noted that these two types of leaders, dictators and experts, hold a peculiar place in democratic societies. The most unpopular figure on the playing field is the umpire. Neither the players nor the spectators display affection for him. On the contrary, he is often the object of ridicule, abuse, and attack. The coach type of leader (the expert) is appraised almost wholly in terms of his ability to "deliver the goods." If his team wins, his prestige rises; and if it wins consistently, he may even become a sort of hero to both players and spectators. If his team loses, his prestige diminishes and if the losses are continuous, he will sooner or later be obliged to seek employment elsewhere. His effective leadership is measured in terms of objective success.

The captain of the team, the natural leader chosen by an autonomous group, is appraised by quite different values. His leadership may take on an even deeper and profound meaning when his team loses than when it wins. His leadership is a function of the confi-

dence of his colleagues. Their relationship to him is to be described by an *of* rather than a *to*. He is one of them. Their fate is his fate, their fortune his. He is a symbol of a quality that arises from collective sources. If a division regarding his leadership occurs within the group, the collective quality of the group will deteriorate.<sup>1</sup> The morale of the group is a reflection of the leader's stability. The ends which the group is striving to attain are shared by this leader. The means utilized for the achievement of these ends are also shared by the leader. And, at this point, one begins to discover an interrelation between these three types of leaders.

The coach (expert) has taught the team to use means which he believes will be successful in reaching the ends involved. The umpire's duty is to see that these means do not transgress the established rules. The captain's function is to choose those specific means that seem to him adequate for the immediate situation. We see here how it comes about that in a democracy a wide variety of leadership may be utilized. In a dispute between management and labor, for example, we see all of the above types of leadership in operation. There will be labor leaders of the captain type, and there will also be management leaders. There will be experts acting in the role of counselors. And there will be an arbitrator or umpire.

Illustrations of the natural type of leadership, the type which belongs peculiarly to democratic experience, are observable at almost every level of life. In the building where my office is located there are janitors and elevator operators. The leader of this group may be identified without the least chance of error. I recall the emergence of this form of leadership on a tennis court where there were always more players than space and time. The main problem was to select opponents who would be sure to produce good competition, plus the problem of dividing the playing time with some degree of fairness. Until the natural leader arose this was a quarreling group

<sup>1</sup> An excellent illustration of this type of situation occurs in a recent book for youth written by the sagacious sports writer, John R. Tunis. The book is called *Keystone Kids* and the erupting element is anti-Semitism.



After his leadership became effective it became a group of mutual enjoyments. Among work groups, spontaneous children's groups, and in neighborhood affairs, these natural leaders appear automatically. If, then, this form of leadership is universal in democratic societies, why do more than mention the fact?

If democratic societies were at present enjoying good health, if they were moving forward with assurance and faith, and if they were displaying an efficient capacity to solve their contemporary problems, there would be no need to carry this inquiry further. But, unhappily, this is not the case. The democracies of the world have been put on the defensive. They are at the moment struggling for survival. Our own democracy, the United States of America, is far from united. Even in the midst of a defensive war we have discovered chronic tensions and disunities of a depth and intensity which we had not hitherto realized. The current frictions in American life are too complicated to admit of a simple Marxian class explanation. Ours are group-to-group tensions—farmers versus trade unions, trade unions versus trade unions, trade union members versus trade union leaders, Negroes versus whites, gentiles versus Jews, Protestants versus Catholics, Southerners versus Northerners, Easterners versus Westerners, second-generation foreign born versus Negroes, Mexicans versus Americans, Orientals versus Occidentals, etc., etc. These complex tensions cannot be explained in simple casual formulas.<sup>2</sup> Nor do I propose to go further at this time than to suggest certain considerations which seem to me to bear directly upon education.

I therefore select only three difficulties which seem to have arisen in modern democracies and in our American democracy particularly: (a) the rise of unnatural leaders in many of our powerful pressure groups; (b) the naive belief that collective action will, in

<sup>2</sup> At a recent meeting of the Association for Research in Psychoanalysis and Experimental Psychodynamics, I attempted to describe a multiple-analysis approach to this question. I suggested the use of social psychology, psychiatry, economics, ethno-legalism, ethno-sociology, metaphysical religion, and philosophy as the appropriate disciplines.

and of itself, protect our group interests and at the same time conserve democracy; and (c) our simple faith in the native talents of our natural leaders.

By "unnatural" leaders I mean a person who dominates the affairs of an interest group in spite of the fact that his own life pattern is divergent from that of the members of the group. Such leaders have arisen in both our agricultural and our labor organizations. They exercise great power either through sheer arbitrariness or through their success as lobbyists. It thus happens that men whose primary interest is banking and finance come to represent farmers. It also happens that certain labor leaders manipulate trade unions as though these groups constituted their personal "rackets." When this happens the natural leaders whose localized functions are far removed from the arena of intergroup conflict are unable to exercise their proper influence. Indeed, it often happens that, under these circumstances, natural leadership withers and dies altogether.

The naïve belief that collectivism by itself will bring peace and happiness to individuals likewise tends to destroy natural leadership. Collectivism conceived in terms of the mechanics of power disregards the element of fraternity. Large collective entities are created regardless of whether or not the members are loyal to each other. Friendship, without which collectivities become mere mechanisms, is not merely neglected but is considered to be mere sentimentality. But democracy rests upon a tripod; liberty, equality, and fraternity are its foundations. When one of these is missing the others cannot be realized.

If my thesis is in any sense valid, it must become clear that in democracies natural leaders of the type described above are essential. But we can no longer expect such leaders to succeed on the basis of their native talents alone. We cannot expect a democracy to operate successfully with only umpires and coaches, arbitrators and experts. In this direction lies dictatorship. If our natural leaders are to exercise their proper democratic function, they must somehow become

a match for professionals. I see no way in which this can be brought about save through education. In a recent address on "Freedom and the Liberal Arts" delivered by Wendell Willkie at Duke University the speaker said: "I think it was William Howard Taft who said that you could find a man fit to sit on the Supreme Court Bench of the United States in any town in America of more than 5,000 population. Possibly Mr. Taft exaggerated. Yet surely the *principle* has been proved time after time in American history. The vast American educational system has set men free—free not alone to serve, but free also to lead. Education is the mother of leadership."

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## A RESEARCH APPROACH TO LEADERSHIP PROBLEMS

Kurt Lewin

Our approach to the phenomenon of leadership is full of contradiction. With a feeling of awe, we are looking up to the leader in politics, in the arts, in science, in business. That the "hero" is the point where the forces of historical situations and the abilities of the individual meet to determine destiny is granted even by those historians who try to minimize his importance. On the other hand, and particularly in a democracy, the right of the common man is upheld. Vigilant criticism and a jealous watch over the limitation of the leader's power are considered basic virtues. We may believe that "leaders are born not made," and, at the same time, demand that every child be trained for leadership.

The war seems to have multiplied our interest in leadership, but also heightened the conflict in our approach. People all over the world have been impressed in a particularly dramatic way with the tremendous consequences toward good or evil that seem to stem from the goals and ideals, the realism and dreams of men like Hitler, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin. These events have sensitized us to differences in leadership form. They have made us love and, at the same time, hate leadership more. The feeling for the breadth of the leadership problems in society has been heightened by the gigantic training program for leaders in the Army and in industry.

The success of the war should strengthen the belief in the superiority of the democratic form of leadership. At the same time, the war has hardly helped to clarify what democratic leadership is. Its paradoxes and the paradoxes of a democracy which is equally emphatic in demanding and denying leadership seem to have become less well rather than better understood. The danger that in politics, in education, and in industry after the war fascistic leadership forms

will be propagandized under the name of democratic discipline is by no means past

One weapon to fight the danger of losing the peace to fascism is a thorough application of the old democratic standby of a rational approach. Democracy has nothing to lose and everything to gain by bringing leadership from the realm of myths down to the level of everyday happenings. The survival of democracy demands that leadership is investigated realistically, that its dynamics is understood scientifically, and that this understanding is grasped by many. Democratic leadership is a role that can be played adequately only if the followers play their part. This is old knowledge. It has been confirmed and sharpened by the first findings of the young experimental research in leadership.

*The interdependence of parts and properties of a group.* Surveys of "democracy in school" have given a vivid picture of the heterogeneity of ideas identified with this ideal. In some "democratic" schools individualistic freedom is stressed, in others equality or fairness, or service to the group, or specific voting procedures, or the rights and powers of the children. In some schools the idea of democracy is linked with activities in class, in others with the organization of the schools as a whole, in some cases with the relation between the school and the community.

One might feel that this is a picture of chaos which demands that the concept "democracy" should be narrowed down to a more specific definition. However, these observations should rather be taken as an indication of the same facts which the experience in the factory or in any small or nationwide organization shows, namely, (a) that there are many forms of democracy, tough and soft, efficient and inefficient; and (b) that the problems of types of leadership or social atmosphere, such as democracy, involve in a specific way the properties of social units as a whole, as well as their parts and subparts, down to the properties of the individual member.

The approach of the psychologist to the problem of leadership has

for a long time been dominated by the problem of selection and of testing of specific "abilities." Experiments<sup>1</sup> have shown, however, in a precise manner that what is usually called the character and the abilities of the individual, his ideals, his goals, his motivation and values, his perception and his productivity, his friendliness and objectivity, his tendencies to domination and submission, that all these properties can be changed to a large extent by changing the social atmosphere or the group belonging of this individual. This holds for the follower as well as for the leader. The idea of training leaders makes use<sup>2</sup> largely of this dependence of the person's motivation and character on the group of which he is a part.

If the leader himself is viewed in this way as one part of a social unit, the width of his influence loses its magic and becomes a specific case of the interdependence of the various subparts and aspects of a dynamic whole.

It does not suffice however to understand the fact of interdependence. What we want to know is the specific laws governing it. For, only then will we know what changes should be brought about within a social unit to reach a certain objective, and on what subpart of the units the lever should best be applied.

*Research methods.* Research on leadership, so conceived, obviously confronts a gigantic task. Its methods of observation and measurement will have to be designed to reach the properties of large social units, as well as the properties of small units and of the individual. It has to reach such heterogeneous facts as production output, attitudes, social interaction, rules and regulations, strengths and widths of power fields, physical settings, leadership styles, personality differences, and procedures of goal setting of individuals and groups. It has to link these data which are commonly attributed to

<sup>1</sup> R. Lippitt and R. White, "The 'Social Climate' of Children's Groups," in Barker, Kounin, and Wright's *Child Behavior and Development* (1943).

<sup>2</sup> A. Bavelas, "Morale and the Training of Leaders," in *Civilian Morale*, Goodwin Watson, ed. (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1942).

such different sciences as sociology, cultural anthropology, psychology, and engineering in a way that permits their treatment in a common scientific language.

To understand the dynamics of leadership, one has to study by comparative methods the whole gamut of leadership in high and low positions; in the various functions of chairman, coach, teacher, executive, counselor, etc.; in organizations with different objectives and different ideologies. From the description of institutions and the measurement of attitudes, we will have to proceed to "action research." For, only experiments on change carried out under controlled conditions can tell us what the strength and the character of the forces are that hinder or help to bring about changes of any aspect of group life.

Such experimental research is still in its early stages of development. However, some important methodological progress has been made and some results brought home. The procedures of interviewing, questioning, and observing have been elaborated. Methods have been designed specifically to reach the properties of social groups as wholes, for instance friendship patterns or group structure.

*Group life as quasi-stationary process*<sup>1</sup> A group is not a stationary thing but a process of interaction between people. Group life proceeds like a river within a frame of certain conditions. This holds for the life of a minority group as well as for the speed of production in industry, for progress in school, for a Scout troop, or for prison life. To understand any group life (1) we have to know the channel through which it flows, that is, the factors of tradition, physical setting, legal forms of organizations, power of outside groups, etc., which keep the life of that group within certain boundaries. We have to know the form of the channels, where branches meet and

<sup>1</sup> K. Lewin, "Forces Behind Food Habits and Methods of Change," *National Research Council Bulletin*, 1943, No. 108, pp. 35-65.

K. Lewin, "Constructs in Psychology and Psychological Ecology," *Studies in Topological and Vector Psychology*, III, 1944, University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, p. 20.

where they part, where they come from and where they lead to. (2) We have to know the obstacles that slow down group life, the strength of its boundaries, its inner contradictions, or more generally the strength and nature of the "restraining forces" (3) Finally, we have to know what the forces are that keep group life flowing and what the different factors are that determine the velocity of the various aspects of group life.

Any change of group life presupposes that the constellation of forces is changed in such a way that an equilibrium is reached on a different level. This conceptual framework is a valuable tool for understanding the various methods of temporary and permanent changes and their effect.

*The role of the leader and the contradictions of group life.* What is the role of the leader in regard to the forces that determine the character and intensity of group life? Has he to provide the forces that make the group move? Or should he merely set free the forces existing in the members of the group? Or should his main concern be to polarize and coordinate the forces existing within the group? What should be the means for reaching any one of these ends—swinging the whip or giving maximum freedom, playing on the egoism, setting up competitive rewards or should he strengthen the feeling of group cooperation and favor group decisions? Should the leader's relation to the group be based mainly on personal superiority or should the objective requirements of the situation be the common ground?

In most cases of group life something is expected to be "produced" by the group; it may be the production of goods, the transmission of knowledge to oneself or to others, or character education, or merely fun. The success of the group and its leadership is largely judged by the quantity and quality of their production

In this fact lies one of the main sources of difficulties of leadership and of the contradictions of group life. Looking at the "channels of production," whether it is factory work, learning in schools, or merit badges of the Scouts, the leader might easily forget that



this production is the outcome of a group life which has its own dynamics. How to link the group dynamics with the "objective requirements" of production or the goals of the organization is one of the basic problems of leadership.

One can distinguish broadly three types of driving forces: (a) the group members might proceed on the basis of forces induced by the leaders (by order or threat); (b) the group member might be governed by his motivation as an individual in a setting where the channels have been fixed by the leader in such a way that the outcome of the individual's effort is what he wants; (c) the individual is governed by his motivation as a group member.

It is natural for a leader who feels himself "responsible" for reaching certain goals, for instance, for the progress of learning in school, to use the "direct" method of induced forces. Relative to this, the method of individual motivation in a "managed" setting is already a roundabout route. Many authoritarian leaders use a combination of both procedures. The experimental results indicate that in the long run a constellation which gives sufficient weight to the motivation of the individual as a group member is superior in regard to character building and social relations, as well as in regard to production.

We cannot attempt here to survey systematically the findings of the young experimental approach to leadership and group dynamics concerning such topics as: the triangular relation of autocracy, democracy, and laissez faire; the effect of the need structure of an individual on his being trained as a leader and on his leadership roles, the relation between leadership form, group structure, dependence, and productivity; the effect of request and group decision on the relation between personal preference for the group goal and the effort of the individual to reach it; the relation of values (ideology), action, and perception, the interrelation of the roles played by fol-

<sup>4</sup> K. Lewin, "The Dynamics of Group Action," *Educational Leadership*, I, No. 1 (1941) pp. 195-200.

<sup>5</sup> B. Wilferrman, *Group Decision and Request as Means of Changing Food Habits* (Washington, D. C.: National Research Council Committee on Food Habits, 1943).

lowers and leaders. The following articles in this issue will illustrate the variety and complexity of these interdependent problems and some of the steps taken thus far. They demonstrate that the tremendous practical importance of the problem of leadership and its close relation to politics and philosophy does not need to prevent us from investigating leadership as an everyday social fact with the best scientific methods available. The combination of a systematic experimental procedure with a step-wise elaboration of a framework of concepts and theories will be most valuable for understanding the present and for planning the future.

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## EXPERIMENTATION WITH TEACHER TRAINING

Ronald Lippitt

No one can supply us with the data on the extent to which teachers have contributed negatively, by commission or omission, to the present state of human affairs wrought by their pupils. Probably most of us, ruefully evaluating our own performance weaknesses as citizens of the world, the nation, the community, and of our own jobs, can wish our own teachers had communicated certain motives, appreciations, and skills a little more realistically.

Observation in several colleges, and several years of experimentation with training procedures, have led the author to the conclusion that in our training practices we are operating in terms of at least two assumptions which need critical examination.

*Assumption 1.* By our teacher-training practices we seem to be assuming to a large extent that if a student in teacher-training classes learns how to verbalize correctly "what should be done" and "how it should be done" then these objectives and techniques are likely to be translated into actual performance on the job of working with children and youth. (We do, of course, have practice teaching but it is usually a brief experience and poorly related to the classroom learning experiences.)

Findings from training research which throw critical light on this assumption are:

1. Teaching a trainee to verbalize correctly "how good teachers perform" or "what good teachers do" fails in the majority of cases to influence actual performance on the job later.
2. Being rewarded (by grades, diplomas, praise, etc.) for being able to *say* the correct words about good teaching practice tends to put emphasis on, and focus satisfaction on, being able to verbalize

the right practices and attitudes rather than being able to demonstrate or do them.

3. The teaching practices used in the teachers college classroom are very frequently found to be actually contradictory in practice to those we are teaching verbally in the same situation—and thus the validity of a split between “correct knowing” and “correct doing” is further condoned.

*Assumption 2.* Our practices indicate we tend to assume that the teaching techniques (lectures, reading projects, discussions) which suffice to “get across certain subject matter knowledges” are also adequate techniques to communicate sound attitudes toward children and their development and satisfactory skills in stimulating social and emotional growth through the life of the classroom groups.

Findings from training research which help to examine critically this assumption are:

1. Communicating skills in educational leadership of the group and the individual presents quite a different type of training problem from the teaching of appreciation of Shakespeare, the “know how” of cooking, the understanding of American history, etc. When it comes to the matter of changing or acquiring new attitudes and skills in human relationships we have a desire, sometimes conscious, sometimes unconscious, to maintain the status quo of our present tolerances, intolerances, and “style” of relationships (e.g. the amount of autonomy we can entrust to our pupils, the amount of informality we can feel comfortable with, etc.).

2. It is easy for the person in training to understand and take an objective attitude toward the fact that he is “inadequate in Shakespeare,” but much harder for him to arrive at an objective understanding that he is also “inadequate at dealing effectively with people.”

3. Even if the trainee has attained this objective realization and a

desire to improve his style of leading young people, the resistance actually to translating this intention into practice is still great because of the satisfactions we have come to experience from our particular relationships (e.g. being center of attention, the dominator, the "mother," etc.).

The evidence is clear that the teachers we have trained have not communicated to their students impelling motives and behavioral skills in such matters as health and recreation practices, straight-thinking citizenship responsibilities, intelligent consumer behavior, socially minded business practices, and skilled parenthood.

Educational researchers are just beginning to explore systematically the problem of appropriate teaching methods to effect various types of behaviors and attitudes. A number of recent training experiments, including one by the author with equated classes of students in a teachers college, have singled out several elements of the training experience which at this stage seem basic to a sound teaching process. These elements are summarized below

*The classroom as a laboratory.* Major emphasis can be put upon the basic importance of "practising what we preach" by setting up projects in observation of our own educational leadership by the teachers in training and leading critical evaluations of the practices being used.\* In one class two different students served as observers during each class meeting using a "leader-group interaction" observation sheet<sup>4</sup> to summarize the type and extent of participation in the learning situation of the professor and all other members of the group. This record was summarized and critically evaluated by the group several times during the course. And of course all students were developing sensitivity to an important dimension of the educational situation by functioning as observers.

*Cooperative curriculum construction.* Unless perspectives are de-

\* The numbers in the text refer to the bibliography at the end of the article. Numbers 1, 2, and 3 are referred to here

veloped and mutual agreements reached on the plan of the course curriculum and its degree of flexibility, there can be no demonstration of the basic elements of democracy in the classroom situation. The writer has yet to find a group with whom he could not share frankly and merge satisfactorily his and their hopes and expectations for the outcomes of the course experience.<sup>4</sup> These discussions are a point where focus can be put upon concrete statements of objectives in terms of skill and attitudinal as well as knowledge outcomes. The mutual responsibility for progress toward course objectives which develops is of major value.

*Course procedural democracy* There is a great difference between "being a good fellow" as a professor and presiding over an actual classroom democracy. In the controlled experiment mentioned above with two teachers college classes the experimental group did away, for example, with attendance checking, voted for optional outside reading with no grades for their efforts in this direction. Their attendance was better and they did twice as much library work as the control group receiving required reading assignments of the same literature. As the experimental group began to find their field observations more valuable they voted to cut down on the number of class hours and increase the time they would spend in observation and smaller group meetings. They took (because they knew they had to) the initiative for inviting in resource persons, including a group of high-school students and parents to join in a discussion of "what adults do to keep youth from growing up." The influence on the students' own motivation of these classroom procedures came in for serious discussion from which emerged an understanding of the principles involved for their own teaching practices.

*Observation experiences.* Observation projects are a part of many education classes but several uses of such experiences are worth noting here. Observation of the leadership roles in recreational groups

and activity clubs in community social agencies has proved even more valuable to the students than classroom observations in the training school. In order to bring home the important awareness that we all lack skill in seeing many of the important things that happen in any social situation, at least two students always made their observations simultaneously with comparison afterwards of the many things they had "seen differently." These observation reports became more objective and more diagnostically valuable as the weeks of the term progressed. The students "felt" their own progress.<sup>6,7</sup> In another training group an "adult-youth participation blank" was developed<sup>8</sup> as an observation guide.

*Spontaneous dramatizing of the teacher's role* Getting realistic practice for the future through "role-playing" has been one of the most effective teacher-training classroom activities.<sup>7</sup> A wide variety of classroom situations, faculty relations, and teacher-parent relationships can be spontaneously projected in the classroom with the trainees getting valuable "insight-practice" by taking the roles of teachers, children, adolescents, parents, school administrators, etc. This "taking of roles" makes possible very critical personal evaluation of behavior without arousing defensiveness; and the chance to "try it over again" after concrete class discussion is welcomed enthusiastically. Often several students will work through the same problem situation as teachers, one after the other, with the class comparing their techniques and launching into a discussion of principles which is realistically oriented to a common experience of all members of the class. For techniques of conducting such psychodramatic sessions, see the suggestions in the bibliography.<sup>1,7,8,10</sup>

*Concluding statement.* Unfortunately education students do not feel cheated by the kind of training we are commonly giving them, but they do respond with great surges of enthusiasm and assumption of responsibility when we give them a chance to grow. Hundreds of comments such as the following were forthcoming when

anonymous evaluations were made at the end of the experimental courses:

Our opinions were actually respected. The procedure of this class was entirely different from other courses which makes adjustment difficult, but it is certainly best.

I felt I really accomplished something by *doing* and *practising* instead of just *reading* and *discussing*.

I worked harder than for any other class and none of it was required.

I actually learned techniques of stimulating children to do things in a constructive way without dominating them.

Most of all I learned about student-teaching relations through the way in which our own teacher became one of the group.

I have begun to understand myself better.

I had a chance to really try out with a helpful group the techniques I had observed or read about.

Because we had planned together I knew where we were heading as a group and was able to *feel good* about the progress we were making.

Surely all of us in teacher training need to be more concrete about "where we are heading," being clearheaded and hard-boiled with ourselves about the specific effects of our training efforts—effects evaluated not in terms of proficient oral and written "know how," but in terms of demonstration of new attitudes and the development of new behavior skills.

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# **TRAINING VOLUNTEER LEADERS FOR YOUTH GROUPS**

**Alvin Zander**

At the outset in considering the training of volunteer leaders for youth groups, it is important to bear in mind two factors:

1. Training volunteer youth leaders means training of adults. In America youth lead so few youth groups that it is impractical to examine their training procedures. Adults are the leaders of youth. Indeed, out of 320 agencies concerned with youth, only 81 have youth members.

2. Almost all youth agencies are concerned with "character development," and the adherence of the young participant to some standard of behavior is their primary aim. Youth leadership is often popularly identified with "reforming."

With these two limitations in mind, let us look at a typical training course for adult leaders.

## **A Typical Training Course**

The rigidity of the pattern for the leaders' training course is closely related to the structure of the program which the leader is to guide. Thus there may be wide variations from the pattern of a typical training course presented here, depending upon the youth agency.

A typical leaders' training course meets from six to nine times for two-hour, weekly sessions. Ten to thirty persons attend, and two or more persons serve as course trainers. A large proportion of the time is spent in a description of the agencies' administrative structure such as which form to use for which purpose, available facilities, and where to buy program materials and equipment. A smaller portion of the course time is concerned with special skills such as games,

arts and crafts, and outdoor living. A very small part of the course touches on the aims and purposes of the agencies, their symbolisms, traditions, and history. Practically all of the course follows a pre-determined teaching outline.

The group meets as one body from 80 per cent to 100 per cent of the time. Up to 20 per cent of the time is given to group discussion. The most frequent teaching method is the lecture by the expert, with anywhere up to one third of the course being spent in question and answer type of discussion. There is outside reading and often the completion of several paper and pencil projects.

#### Some Faults of a Typical Leaders' Training Course

Certain criticisms may be made about the course pattern just described.

1. The large amount of time spent in mass group structure and listening to lectures prohibits the consideration of the trainees' individual problems. The inflexibility of the predetermined course content likewise forestalls the individualization of the course. Then too, "expert" lectures give the course a "the-only-way-to-do-it" atmosphere. All these aspects of typical leader-training submerge the neophyte leader in a mass production treatment of materials, many of which have no reality for him.

2. No attempt is made to give the pupil experience in transferring verbal information into group leadership-in-action situations. Thus, his problems of group leadership are in another world from the talks offered at the training course.

3. No criticism is offered of the volunteer's group-leadership techniques, either during the training or later when on the job, so that a poor leader may never see himself as others see him, nor receive guidance in improving himself.

4. The leader is given no skill in analyzing the forces at play in unusual group situations. Because he has no experience in guided

group observation he has no eyes to see nor words to describe what his group does, so that a discussion about his group in terms that others will understand is impossible.

### **Agency Policy Problems in Administering Leader Training**

There are unique difficulties for a youth agency in providing and improving the training of volunteer-youth leaders. These problems make some of the youth faults more comprehensible. They also make it apparent that experimental adult education must seek teaching and administration methods that will keep the following problems in mind:

1. Many agencies are not yet clear concerning the purpose of their training; they cannot decide whether their aim is the teaching of skills, indoctrination, orientation, bolstering of agency organization, or subject-matter cramming.
2. Some agencies have not yet adequately defined whether their volunteer leaders shall be guiders, directors, disciplinarians, indoctrinators, or what.
3. Those organizations which put a premium on having their members learn certain skills are undecided as to how much skill training to give the volunteer as compared with learning how to use the skills.
4. The aims of youth organizations are often vague, ambiguous, and capable of various interpretations—thus, training goals are not easily defined.
5. All of the agencies aim to develop a certain amount of youthful leadership. This makes it necessary to develop in the adults an understanding of the subtleties of democracy. Even more difficult is the job of making a volunteer sensitive to the likely dependence of youth upon him as a result of their home and school culture, and of making the volunteer capable of sticking through the "rebellion" that will grow as he first tries to give the group its head.
6. The leaders are volunteers who must have certain personal

needs met in order that they are sufficiently satisfied to remain on the job.

7. Individual differences in ability, confidence, age, and social insight are enormous among volunteer leaders.

8. The recruiting and training of trainers is a tremendous community resource problem which is complicated by the fact that each youth agency has a different program, and uses a different set of trainers out of the small supply available.

9. Mechanical details, such as the frequency of the course, frequency and number of meetings, meeting length, and geographical location, are further difficulties for the youth agencies to overcome in order that leader training may be made widely available.

### Research in Leadership Training

Recent and present research in leadership training is suggesting ways of overcoming the faults of the typical training course and is experimenting with various administrative and policy procedures in training of leaders. The research findings dealing with the latter problems are so complicated that lack of space prevents a discussion of them here. However, some of the studies in the former area can more easily be summarized.

These studies have shown the value of certain youth-leader training procedures which avoid the criticisms of the typical training course described above and which have been effectively used in a number of leader training situations. While they may not be adequate for the entire framework of a "beginner's" course it is suggested that they will provide an effective orientation in the educating of volunteer-youth leaders,<sup>1</sup> and imply a "stand" on certain of the agency policy problems.

1. Find out the trainee's leadership problems as he conceives of

<sup>1</sup> These procedures will be presented in a more extended fashion in a forthcoming pamphlet being prepared under the sponsorship of the Coordinating Committee on Volunteer Leader Training Projects, a subcommittee of the American Association for the Study of Group Work.

them and *also* as the course leader sees them. Do not depend entirely on the verbal statements of trainees, in the description of his leadership needs.

2. Make the trainee aware that he needs education of a specific nature that he may not have previously realized. Films, dramatizations, and guided observations have all been used to "shock" new leaders into an awareness of their shortcomings and the readiness for materials that they may have earlier considered useless.

3. Help the trainee to see himself as others see him in a leadership situation by practice in leadership of the course members, and group evaluation of his efforts.

4. Give the volunteer practice in ways of amending and improving his leadership skills in a situation where the group relations are not "for keeps," so that mistakes cause no concern on the part of the group or practising leader. The psychodrama or role-playing situation has served this purpose well.

5. Explicitly sensitize the trainee to the forces at work in the behavior of a group. Through the group's own development of an observation instrument, for example, they may become aware of such conduct as group structure and time perspective, patterns of interpersonal reactions, group frustration, administrative methods, and others; all of which are important to an understanding of and a readiness for the constantly changing flow of events in a group situation.

6. Carry over the transfer of skills from "make-believe" situation to the on-the-job situation. This includes interpreting the new leader to any supervisors, plus coaching at time intervals.

## TEACHERS CAN BE LEADERS

Harold Haydon

In May 1943 it became known that three hundred Navy V-12 students would move into George Williams College on July 1 to study engineering, a subject foreign to the college, and to change the campus to a ship, floors to decks, stairways to ladders, and 4 00 p.m. to 1600. Although shrunk by exodus of men to the armed forces, the college association of about 130 students and faculty prepared to welcome the outnumbering newcomers without knowing them, their interests, or capabilities. In the shadow of doubt concerning the possibility of uniting two such diverse groups, the cabinet voted to do so, and transferred authority to act for the cabinet during the summer vacation to the faculty Group Life Committee. Officers had been elected and committee chairmen appointed for the coming year, in tacit assumption that Navy men would arrive to find a going concern into which they would fit and like it.

As students left for summer jobs, the Group Life Committee found itself in an anomalous position. Normally it is part of the cabinet, representing the faculty and corporate interests of the college, its members serving on various standing committees of the cabinet, by unwritten agreement ineligible for elective and appointive positions, exerting leadership through cooperative participation in activities. Now the committee held unprecedented authority over college association affairs, granted in trust that the organization would be recognizably intact when cabinet and student body returned in the autumn to take over their responsibilities.

Meetings almost daily, from the middle of June through July 1, attest that the faculty committee made an effort. First, they attempted to discover the conditions under which V-12 students would live at the college, the scope of their extracurricular interests,

the limitations imposed by studies and Navy regulations,<sup>1</sup> the adaptation of physical resources to needs of the new group—all this in advance of arrival in order to achieve that “going concern” ideal. Then it was necessary to set up a tentative budget, allocate responsibility for activities, and plan initial events. The committee expanded from five to eleven. One faculty man took the athletic committee’s portfolio, another assumed the work of the social and special interests committees, another undertook the new function of rounding up dancing partners and dinner invitations, still another headed up assemblies and attacked the problem of meeting V-12 students’ religious needs. A little help came from students who happened to be in the vicinity, but otherwise the teachers were on their own, guided only by experience in a somewhat different situation.

Three hundred apprentice seamen arrived. Sandwiched into the excitement of their first days in the Navy were orientation events—field day, reception, an assembly devoted to explaining the college association, a dance—planned and executed by faculty in the name of the cabinet. In the general enthusiasm, a majority of the seamen signed up and many paid fees. The faculty carefully explained the cooperative relationship between students and faculty in the college association—hard to do in view of many students’ experience in relations with faculty—but continued to do nearly everything for the new students.

An effort was made to draw in the new men to serve on various committees, but was only partly successful. Later it appeared that some men who were asked to join committees by the faculty acting-chairmen were not regarded by their fellows as true representatives, largely because faculty-appointed. The V-12 students began to feel like stepchildren, questioning the use being made of their money, asking why they should continue to pay fees.

<sup>1</sup> V-12 students may join only those organizations already existent on campus, they join student unions and associations on a voluntary basis even when it is compulsory for civilian students; they cannot handle money and so cannot perform a treasurer’s function; their studies come first and cannot yield to other activities regardless of interest and aptitude



Since the Group Life Committee felt bound by responsibility to the civilian cabinet and could not call an election of officers nor appoint seamen as committee chairmen without authorization, the faculty continued an expedient leadership out of keeping with college association philosophy, which it would not attempt to justify. The unworkable situation which had developed was a necessary transitional phase in order to maintain faith with civilian students whose belief in the democratic nature of the association would have been undermined by independent faculty action.

A meeting was held to explain the organization again, and the V-12 group was told that it would have an elected representative on the cabinet, as well as seamen co-chairmen of major committees. The Navy students were assured of the democratic process, that did not yet exist in fact, and there was no attempt at autocratic control. Still the seamen quite legitimately continued to question the set-up, while membership income declined to the crisis point.

About this time civilian students returned, to the relief of the faculty who lost no time in returning responsibilities to the cabinet in hope that regular student leadership would be able to make clear to the seamen that the college association provided adequate means for their representation. An election of V-12 representatives was held. A joint budget meeting planned the next term's program, with every one making doubly certain that V-12 interests were adequately considered. Still this did not suffice. The "scuttlebutt" expanded in fantastic rumors about how membership money was being spent, while the possibility shrank of securing sufficient funds to carry on V-12 intramural, varsity, and other programs.

Civilian interests were shoved into the background as committee after committee of seamen and civilians met to work on the problem of securing necessary V-12 interest and membership. There was no question of the adequacy of the college association organization to provide an extracurricular program. Civilian students knew this from experience, and those seamen who participated in committee

work knew it. Nevertheless most V-12 students only saw faculty leaders replaced by civilian student leaders. The "scuttlebutt" and active disinterest increased.

The Group Life Committee again was functioning in a normal relationship to the college association, cooperating in committee work, taking part in councils, but in no sense attempting to impose a solution, nor to guide the issue in any direction except toward the ideal of an organization in which V-12 and civilian students would cooperate under regularly elected and appointed leadership. Presently it became apparent that civilian students struggling with the problem were being overtaxed, while the extracurricular program of all students was limited by the absorption of leadership in administrative troubles. The Group Life Committee, in its usual capacity, acted in response to felt needs of the college association, recommending to the cabinet and the faculty that there be two branches in the organization, each with elected officers and appointed committee chairmen, one responsible for civilian program and the other for V-12 activities.

At last it had become clear to all that the differences in attitude and background of the two groups required parallel but not identical avenues for expression in extracurricular activity. Some members of the faculty had predicted this from the start. In another setting faculty action might have settled the issue without waiting for all sections of the community to reach the decision. At the critical point, the Group Life Committee did not take action by itself—it merely recommended a course of action, at a time when the situation permitted decisive leadership without taint of dictation or coercion.

Both cabinet and faculty voted the recommendation. V-12 council became a body parallel to the cabinet rather than part of it. The cabinet felt no sense of loss, having reduced its own sphere of activity, and was eager to tackle neglected civilian affairs. The seamen, who had carried through a second election of representatives and

officers, were ready to assume the responsibility for which they had been asking in their share of the extracurricular program. Voluntary membership of V-12 students rose close to 100 per cent. Budget and program were assured, backed by the interest engendered in the struggle for satisfactory representation. Meanwhile the college association organizational structure proved itself in action with the V-12 council as it long since had done with the civilian cabinet, and there was as much joint V-12 and civilian activity as before the reorganization.

Coordinate with the assumption of responsibility by the V-12 council, faculty leadership with V-12 students was established on the same basis as with regular civilian students. A faculty committee parallel to the Group Life Committee was set up to cooperate in the council while positions of leadership remained with the students.

Experiences such as this reveal some basic conditions for productive leadership by teachers.\* In the operation of the college community, the leadership of the teacher is devoted to developing leaders among students. The naive, frustrated, or ill-advised teacher may seize the opportunity to be the leader himself. The lazy, too-busy, or disinterested teacher may erroneously leave everything to the students' own resources. There must be well-established equality between teachers and students—the students with the prestige of actually doing the job, holding the official position, wielding the influence with other members of the community—the teacher with the prestige of experience in practical problems and political relationships, and a record of sharing and cooperating rather than dominating.

There is an enormous qualitative difference between a council or committee consisting of students and faculty with a student chairman, and a similar group chaired by a teacher, either in fact or in effect. It is necessary to recognize that the teacher enjoys and suffers

\* A similar controlled process of slow crystallization of attitudes by the concerned groups in the college community led to disbanding of sororities because the principle of exclusion is not consistent with the spirit of the college and the times

from a special kind of prestige growing out of the classroom, the grading system, titles and degrees, and other paraphernalia of education. Prestige so founded is more inherited than earned and is not conducive to democratic leadership. Teachers become real leaders in spite of their academic aura. Teachers who are leaders and not dictators learn to speak gently, avoiding the tone of authority so natural in the classroom—learn to be overruled at times even when this seems against the course of wisdom—learn to hold back good suggestions based on years of experience, in order that students may have the thrill of discovery.

There must be acceptance by teachers of student leadership, of its competence and responsibility, buttressed by readiness to accept and make the most of failures and incompetence. There must be acceptance and active encouragement of fresh point of view, of change, even when this affects the academic pattern and touches the teacher himself.

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## JOINT LEADERSHIP IN A DEMOCRACY

Dorothea de Schweinitz

A labor-management production committee is seated around the conference table. It is difficult to discern which are labor members and which are management members, either from the way they look or from what they say. They are grappling with a situation which is interfering with war production. They are leaders, chosen from two groups which, when performing other functions, frequently line up opposing each other, according to affiliation. Here they are acting as a unit.

The problems before the committee are varied: the task of interpreting to the worker the urgency of the war (and its aims) in relation to the need of making each screw as perfect and as rapidly as possible; promoting the safety, the nutrition, and the health of the workers; setting up a complex car-pooling system; studying the causes and aiding in the cures of absenteeism and turnover; facilitating the introduction of new workers perhaps from minority groups; conducting campaigns for improving the quality of work of each employee; for the better care and control of tools; salvage; studying ways of conserving scarce materials; stimulating suggestions from employees on better ways of doing their own jobs or on other problems of plant efficiency; and, above all, discussing and recommending in committee the solution of production problems ranging from temporary bottlenecks to changes in routing, layout, storing materials, and improvement in equipment and process.

To do its work the committee appoints subcommittees to carry out the functions it decides to perform, depending on the needs of that particular factory, mine, or shipyard. The main committee then becomes a coordinating body which moves the program forward making sure that all groups supplement each other's work. In some plants it may appoint committees in each department which in turn become the guiding force for activities within the department. On

the other hand, aides may be appointed in each department to assist the functional subcommittees so that the department committee may concentrate on the production problems of the department.

The activities of a labor-management production committee, however, depend on the concept of democracy held by the labor and management groups concerned. The formation of these committees shows that both labor and management have progressed from the concept of collective bargaining rights to the conviction that labor has also a right to participate in the affairs of the industry to the extent of its concern and ability. The conduct of their work retains for management its prerogatives and responsibilities.

Committees, once formed, might be classified in three types resulting from the stage of this democratic thinking which has produced them. First, there are the committees through which labor and management cooperate in matters that concern the workers personally—bond drives, war fund campaigns, blood donor activities, health, safety, plant feeding, absentee campaigns, training programs, and selective service problems.

Second, there are committees which evidence the conviction of labor management that workers, either as organized groups or as individuals, have a contribution to make to the conduct of the manufacturing processes. Such committees not only set up a system for receiving suggestions from workers on ways of improving equipment and job methods, but they have one or more committees which meet regularly, management and labor representatives, to discuss ways of improving the production process. Management considers it worth the time involved in receiving the ideas from those who are in intimate contact with each job.

Third, there are committees that exist because labor and management see democracy not only as a right of individuals to participate in matters of common concern but as a necessity, a method whereby the *best* ways of operating are achieved. In such enterprises, the committee is relied upon to tackle the problems

which are interfering with production, to devise ways of improving methods and removing inefficiencies. This is done through the impact of idea upon idea, the interaction between all members of the group as they work toward ultimate solutions.

These latter two types are to be found in the committees of a large chemical concern and in an airplane turret manufacturing plant. It is not accurate to place them in these separate categories but for illustration a meeting of each committee will be described.

First, the chemical concern which values the contributions of its employees. Management and workers from a given department, together with one labor and one management representative from the collective bargaining machinery, sat around the table. The chairman, the division manager, went over the operations in the department, asking each worker representative, "What is the bottleneck in your section?" Men spoke up without hesitation, with their minds on the production puzzle, not overawed by the fact that they were telling management what to do. In most instances they had previously canvassed the workers in their sections for problems and ideas. Now proposals and solutions were discussed. Some were recorded on the minutes for immediate action. Others were to be discussed further with technicians or referred to the research laboratory for experiment. The discussion was ably conducted. The division manager resembled a professor in his seminar. Despite the wise precautionary measure evidenced in the presence of bargaining representatives, there was no hint of controversy in the atmosphere. But the relationship was a teacher-pupil relationship (of a high order)—not one in which ideas flash and crash against each other as they blend toward ultimate refinement.

The third type of relationship is exemplified by the airplane turret plant which had rocketed up from a closely knit working group of 1,500 men and officials to 11,000 people drawn from everywhere. Teamwork was a stark necessity. To this need is added the philosophy of the company president who said: "One of the most impor-

tant aspects of the labor-management production idea is that it gives full expression to the American theory of representation; economic representation in the job (industrial democracy) comparable to political representation with the vote (political democracy). As soon as any labor-management group absorbs this idea through the committee, they become even more keen to accelerate production with constructive ideas." Union officials expressed similar convictions independently.

A department committee meeting, chaired by the department head, held a heated discussion over the man-hours loss because the men coming on each shift had to wait a half an hour or more to receive gauges at the tool crib. It was a serious interference with production. Three responsibilities were involved—inspection (of the gauges), crib service, and production. Management representatives from each were at the meeting. They did not hesitate to "fight it out" before the union men, nor did the workers hesitate to give their evidence and their suggestions. The dominant tone—"We must lick this problem, if we're to win this war."

Similarly the union representatives were willing to risk revealing a vulnerability of their group by conducting a survey as to the number of employees who stopped work before the whistle blew, and the causes for this. The department was to solve the problem for many departments. When this purpose was clear the workers were willing to serve as a test group.

Instances could be multiplied to illustrate different types of democratic procedure in industry. Leaders are emerging, unknown to the captains of industry, or to international union officials. Around the conference table, true to the interests of their respective groups, these leaders are extending the base of democracy.

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## PREPARING UNION LEADERS FOR RESPONSIBILITY

Mark Starr

"Meet matchstick Mary," says the man at the board, drawing a few strokes and a head-circle to suggest a woman's anatomy. "Chop off her head, her feet, her arms, and inside those extremities all the rest belongs to the union." This is not a protégé of Barnum heading patrons for the egress, but a union instructor in a new members' course, trying to unpack in a lively manner the meaning of the all-important word, "jurisdiction," applied to the women's garment industry for a class of union recruits who must know their rights and duties as union members before they enjoy full membership.

Not all the locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have as yet adopted this course. In some locals membership is declining because women, say, prefer to wear dresses rather than coats and suits. In other cases, members are not made in sufficient quantity to justify the holding of a class, in which case the union endeavors to secure the members' understanding by attractive leaflets recording the history of the union, its current activities, and the institutions that exist to protect the member. Currently Pictorial Union Dictionary (42 union terms defined and illustrated by 42 drawings) is being tried out for beginners' groups.

In wartime, there has been a great turnover in membership and these courses for new members are more important than ever. Even if the recruits do not stay in the garment industry but are attracted away by the higher rates of the munitions plant and government service, the ILGWU feels that other unions and the labor movement generally will benefit from its kindergarten work. Obviously, union members need trade-union ideas in their heads as well as trade-union books in their pockets. Joining a union is itself an experience because it is group activity as against individual activity which is

emphasized. The union member must know how grievances and complaints are processed in a union shop. He (and now mostly she) must know exactly how the union is administered so that they can preserve the vital internal democracy which is as important to the good health of the union as it is to our civic life as a whole.

Usually the new members' course runs for four weekly periods during which time the initiation fee is being paid by installments. The member is permitted one absence and the course covers the structure and functioning of the union. It also describes such institutions as the death benefit fund, the medical and hospitalization plans where they exist, the holiday homes, the educational and recreational opportunities open to union members. Such activity has discovered latent leadership which might have remained unnoticed otherwise. It serves a process similar to naturalization for the foreign born by making the union member feel that he belongs to an institution that gives him rights and duties which must be understood and exercised. It helps democracy to don overalls and operate every working day of the year.

Even those union officers, who at first felt that such courses were unnecessary and that unionists could only be trained literally in the school of hard knocks, have been converted to this as a procedure more fitted to the New Deal period in which the recognition of unionism is no longer fought on the picket line and in which collective bargaining has received the okay of the Supreme Court and has now become an accepted part of the American way of life.

At the other end of union membership, the ILGWU since 1935 has run officers' qualification courses. Where the educational department functions in all the large union centers, would-be officers who have not previously served must meet educational requirements as laid down by the department. The minimum for this is a total of 33 hours' work in class. Six class periods are devoted to the history of the ILGWU in relation to the American labor movement. A similar number of sessions are devoted to the economic problems of the

garment industry, specialized to the division of the industry represented by the students. Then there are 12 to 15 periods on trade-union techniques which begin with the union winning its right to exist in unorganized territory and canvassing potential members at their homes and so forth. Then the class moves on to every phase of union activity until nationwide agreements are negotiated.

Because our institutions of higher learning have as yet largely ignored the training of men and women for service in the labor unions, the union runs this work directly and brings in the union officers to explain their own activity. Out of their reports have grown a valuable series of documents that are used not only by the students but by the officers of the ILGWU and of other unions.

The whole story of this attempt is to be found in detail in the pamphlet, "Training for Union Service," which gives sample tests that are used to check whether or not the student understands what the teacher has said. The would-be officer must make 75 per cent of the possible attendance and secure 75 per cent of the marks.

Supplementing this preparation for full-time paid officers, there are many attempts to train part-time officers. In some cases there are special classes for executive board members who are given a chance to understand their union duties. Knoxville, Tennessee, uses in its officers' classes a leaflet, "Your Job in Local 377," with a breakdown of the duties of each union position.

More ambitiously in New York City, where the union has its greatest strength, there is being currently run an ILGWU officers' institute on Friday afternoons. Some 300 staff members of the union have listened to lectures by Professor Selig Perlman on "Labor Since the New Deal," Professor Sumner H. Slichter on "Labor and Management," Professor Carter Goodrich on "Labor and the Post-War World," and Judge Charles E. Wyzanski on "Labor and the Law."

As part of this picture, there is a welcome recognition on the part of the institutions of higher learning that labor unions have a right

to expect their assistance in the training of their officers. Surely if the universities train bond salesmen, why not union business agents? Is it not just as necessary for the community to have intelligent and trained union leaders as it is to have men and women trained in the professions, for the law, the church, and medicine? The best developed of these schemes is the Harvard Union Fellowships which began in 1942-1943. The ILGWU assisted in this because, to quote Julius Hochman, chairman of the educational committee:

Administration and leadership of a trade union today is a profession. In the past, not so long ago, our job was difficult but limited in scope. We had to organize the workers into unions, conduct strikes to get recognition, and negotiate and enforce collective agreement. Cruel and determined opposition encountered in our efforts to organize sharpened our wits and forced us to put forth our best efforts, but principally in the direction of propaganda and agitation. We forged our organization in the crucible of constant struggle against blind greed and exploitation.

In recent years, and especially in the past decade, under the New Deal, the labor leader's job had broadened and become more complicated. It is no longer enough for him to be an effective organizer, speaker and pamphleteer, today he must know his way about in many fields far removed indeed from Labor's original path in earlier and simpler days. He must know his way about in sociology, in economics, in management, in law, and in public affairs. He must know how to deal with governmental agencies, how to work in his community, how to cultivate public opinion. The labor leader of today finds himself deeply immersed in all aspects of our economic, social and political life.

The functions of labor leadership have so expanded that we can no longer be satisfied with the limited perspective and rule-of-thumb methods that may have sufficed in the past. The labor leader today must keep abreast of the current thinking on the larger aspects of his union problems.

It is too early to evaluate with certainty the Harvard Union Fellowships although the curious reader will find in *Coronet* (December 1943) and *Frontiers of Democracy* (October 1942) a description of the work. It was jointly financed by Carnegie Foundation, the

Harvard alumni, and the participating unions. The demands by the war upon available youth in the unions has cut down the student body from 15 to 5 per cent in 1943-1944. In view of the fact that it is estimated that there are over 30,000 whole-time union officers in the United States, no more than an extremely modest start has been made.

*A wise community would watch with sympathy every attempt to prepare union leaders and union members for their rapidly increasing responsibilities*

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## AN ANALYSIS OF A SITUATION PRELIMINARY TO LEADERSHIP TRAINING

Alex Bavelas

Groups which belong to an organization not only exist in a matrix of aims, traditions, regulations, etc., but are usually conceived and organized in terms of it. The behavior of a group is limited and defined by this matrix. In topological terms one might say that a life space for a group is structured and then a group is created to live in that life space. The degree to which a group may modify its life space and still retain its identity as a group belonging to the organization which created it depends upon the character of its matrix

Similarly, the leader of a group occupies a position within the same matrix. His behavior is no less confined to certain areas than is that of the group. The more exactly the life space of the group has been defined, and the more specific the leadership functions delegated to him, the more restricted is his field of action. Different organizations show varying degrees of control in this respect, but the restrictive limits are always present. The uniqueness of a particular organization is partly due to the way in which the life space of the leader and his group is structured. Therefore, if a leadership training program is intended to help a leader perform his designated function, it must be appropriate to his setting. In other words, the ideas and techniques which are being taught should be in harmony with the aims, traditions, regulations, etc., of the organization in which the leader is working

Since the development of the training program depends on the proper appreciation of these factors, it is clear that the relation of a leader and his group to the particular setting in which they operate deserves careful study. The value of investigating the total setting in which the leader works before attempting leadership training is illustrated in the following report. It sums up the findings of

several weeks of intensive interviewing and observation in a factory where foreman training was being planned. One result of this investigation was the postponement of the training program and the recommendation that the position of the foreman in the factory structure be changed before training was attempted.

### Report of the Foreman Situation in Factory Z

The factory is a medium-sized heavy metal fabrication and assembly plant. It employs about eight hundred men. The techniques used to gather the data were (1) informal interviews, (2) the auditing of meetings, and (3) the direct observation of the foremen at work. The men interviewed were the plant manager, the personnel manager, the two shop superintendents, the foremen, two members of the union shop committee, and two of the company police guards. The meetings attended were the foreman meetings with the plant manager, the shop committee meetings, and management conferences.

In the negotiations preceding the signing of the current union-management agreement, there had been considerable argument over the question of foreman membership in the union. The management felt that for "their" foremen to be in the union was an incongruous situation; the union argued that the foremen should belong to the union—without, however, the privilege of attending the union meetings. The management's view prevailed.

Some weeks following the signing of the agreement the management became aware of tension developing between the foremen and the workers and took steps to remedy the situation. Out of the total group of thirty-eight foremen the eighteen who were rated best were offered the choice of remaining foremen or becoming "leadmen." A leadman, it was explained, would be a sort of "working foreman." He could join the union, his salary would not be reduced, but he would be "under" the "real" foreman. All eighteen

men chose to remain as they were—foremen. The remaining twenty foremen were then notified that they were being made leadmen at no reduction of salary and that they were eligible to join the union.

The interview material showed that the newly made leadmen's first reaction was one of resentment for what they considered an unmerited demotion. With the change in organization there began to develop an antagonism between leadmen and foremen which showed itself in a competition for the loyalty of the workers—the leadmen possessing a marked advantage.

It is interesting to make the following comparison between the leadman's and the foreman's position in the factory:

<i>Foreman</i>	<i>Leadman</i>
No security against being fired	As a member of the union, considerable security against being fired
Not a member of the union "in-group"	A member of the union "in-group"
Does not work with the men	Works side by side with the workmen
No job seniority	Job seniority
"In with management"	"In with workers"
At the bottom of management hierarchy	At the top of the worker hierarchy

In many respects, however, the relations between foreman and leadman do not present the foreman with as many problems as does the question of relations with the union.

The foremen occupy a position of particular difficulty in that the management demands that they enforce certain work and behavior rules (they are urged not to be soft). On the other hand, they are asked not to put management on the spot by starting trouble with the union. In certain instances when the foreman has run into union opposition and the management was faced with the choice of either supporting the foreman and fighting the union, or not supporting



the foreman and avoiding trouble with the union, the latter alternative was chosen. Therefore, whenever an infraction of rules occurs, or when work falls below minimum standards, the foreman has to make an important decision: Will the offense if reported start trouble with the union, and if so will the management support him in his action? The fact that a foreman may be acting within the terms of the union-management agreement does not ensure him against the dangers that may attend his doing his duty as the management sees it. For example, an incident which appeared in several of the interviews was the reporting of a man for being drunk. Although in the rules intoxication is specifically mentioned as one of the reasons for dismissing a man, the net result of the foreman's action was that the man was not fired and that he "lost face." Since that time, although this foreman has seen other rule infractions, he has looked the other way.

It seems obvious that the foreman's situation will not improve while the relations between union and management as a whole remain in the state they are. The management refuses to see the union in any other role than that of an antagonist. The plant manager has repeatedly described the shop committee as a "gang of ignorant, violent, uneducated men" who have power now and must be controlled by cajolery, and through an appeal to their greed until the situation returns to "normal." The management draws a heavy line dividing the workers' interests as represented by the union, and the interests of the company as represented by the management. Any extension by the union committee into what management has labeled "management's backyard" is resented. The result has been that no basis for cooperation has been established, and each side accuses the other of being unreasonable.

### Summary

In the light of the data presented, it is obvious that foreman training as ordinarily conceived is not what the situation demands. The organizational structure is such that the foreman's behavior can

only be more or less "wrong." He is at once the most accessible target for the union's attack against management, and he provides the most convenient scapegoat for management when it gets into trouble. The quality of the personal relationships between the foreman and the workers is in this case determined not so much by the social behavior of the foreman, as by the nature of the position in the factory structure which he is compelled to occupy. The result has been that the foreman's "safe" area of activity has become exceedingly limited, and it includes only the very minimum of personal relationships. Although modifying the behavior of the foreman in those relationships which still exist would have some effect, one could hardly hope for any marked changes while the union-management relationships remain what they are.

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## LEADERSHIP—A DYNAMIC REDEFINITION\*

Helen Hall Jennings

When we analyze, in relation to their behavior and verbalized motivations, the expressed feelings of positive choice and rejection of individuals toward one another, the structure representing this alignment of the members in respect to one another is revealed to reflect basic needs which find fulfillment through specific other individuals. In such a psychosocial structure, the over chosen (*i.e.*, members chosen to the extent of 1 sigma above the mean of the group) cannot be described and dismissed as "popular" persons: they are simply not found to be popular in any superficial sense. They appear as the protagonists of the needs and desires of large numbers of the population—sufficiently effective protagonists to draw choice on a sociometric criterion (*i.e.*, the function for which they are associated, as *working* in the same group) or on several sociometric criteria. They apparently earn the choice status of most wanted group participants because they act in behalf of others with a sensitivity of response which does not characterize the average individual in the community (*i.e.*, members chosen to an average extent). Analysis of their behaviors shows they are individuals who see beyond the circumference of their own personal needs into the wide range of needs of their fellow citizens. By their conduct they go further than the majority of the population in relating themselves to others and in translating the needs of others into effective outlets. Moreover, when the actual psychosocial structure produced by the choice process is allowed to find overt expression, the community studied is found to produce many varieties of leadership—varieties which represent the manifold, diverse needs of its population.

\* *Note* This paper summarizes the experimental findings on leadership reported at length in the writer's *Leadership and Isolation* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1943, 240 pages). The reader may refer to this book for a detailed account of the findings and of the experimental methods used. Here only a resume of the results and their implications in relation to the problem of leadership will be given.

Individuals who are over chosen by the expression of choice from other members show behavior which implies an unusual orientation on their part to the elements of the total group situation; to a much greater extent than the average member, they contribute to enlarge the social field for participation of other citizens and encourage the development of individual members; by their innovations they alter the status quo of things as they find them. They may thus be described as creative improvers of others' situations as well as their own and in exercising such leadership are at the same time chosen as most wanted associates. They may be said to enhance the general tone of their social milieu by "internalizing" their private worries, anxieties and the like, and by a public display of high *esprit de corps*.

Individuals who are isolated (unchosen) or near isolated (*i.e.*, placing 1 sigma below the mean of the group in reception of choice from others) show behavior which implies a marked lack of orientation on their part to the elements of the total group situation, often they not only fail to contribute constructively to the group but hinder the activities undertaken by other members. By "externalizing" private feelings of irritability and the like they subtract from rather than add to the general tone of the social milieu.

The leader individuals and the isolated show wide individual differences in personality. As common characteristics, the personalities of isolates and near isolates show a marked incapacity for establishing rapport with other persons, they appear to repel choice and earn rejection according as they cause "psychological discomfort" to others. The personalities of the over chosen or leader individuals show as common characteristics an unusual capacity to identify with others and to act in their behalf; they appear to invite choice and seldom to earn much rejection because they are a source of "psychological comfort" to others.

The "why" of leadership appears, however, not to reside in any personality trait, nor even in a constellation of related traits, but in

the *interpersonal* contribution of which the individual becomes capable in a *specific* setting eliciting such contribution from him. Similarly, isolation appears as the opposite extreme on this continuum of interpersonal sensitivity between the members of the group *and* the individual.

Leadership thus appears as a manner of interacting with others, a social process of interaction involving behavior *by and toward* the individual "lifted" to a leader role by other individuals. The many particularized "styles" of leadership found in the community reflect not alone the different capacities of the individual leaders but the widely different needs of the population which require various representation.

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## CONCLUDING COMMENT

John R. P. French, Jr.

What can be said, on the basis of the foregoing articles, about leadership in our democracy? Two broad areas require comment: our *knowledge about* leadership in a democracy, and the *applications of this knowledge* in social action.

The very diversity of the articles indicates that we are in a stage of transition from common-sense knowledge to scientific knowledge. Hence we must evaluate progress in this direction both in terms of the accumulated facts which have been organized into a coherent body of scientific *theory*, and in terms of the *methodology* by which we obtain these facts and theories.

The theory of democratic leadership is still very primitive, yet the broad outlines are becoming sufficiently clear to dispel the aura of mysticism surrounding all leadership and to promote rapid progress in the direction of more refined theories. Despite the complexity of the subject and the diversity of the areas covered, the present authors seem to be in general agreement, either explicitly or implicitly, on these basic theoretical propositions. As an indication of this substantial agreement, the relation of some of the contributions to the following points in Lewin's theoretical article are pointed out.

Lewin's field theoretical approach starts with the basic assumption that the problem of leadership must be viewed as a whole, recognizing the interdependence of such factors as the personality of the leader, his leadership skills, the structure of the group or institution within which he functions, the attitudes of his followers, and even the larger cultural setting including other groups. All of the contributions seem to be in harmony with this basic assumption. More specifically, we note the following:

1. Leadership and democracy, so conceived, are not single forms, there are many forms of democracy (Lewin, p. 393); Lindeman

concurs that our democracy does and should make use of a wide variety of forms of leadership (p. 387). Jennings finds that the kinds of individuals who can achieve leadership differ greatly for different groups and in different group functional situations.

2. Democratic leadership and social atmosphere involve the properties of social units as a whole, as well as their parts and subparts, down to the properties of the individual member (Lewin, p. 393). The case studies of Bavelas and Haydon show that leadership in industrial and educational institutions involve properties of both the whole institutional hierarchy and of the subparts at all levels.

3. Both case studies likewise illustrate Lewin's statement that changes on the level of smaller and larger social units are highly interdependent. Zander's analysis of the problems of youth agencies in administering training for volunteer leaders gives a more specific account of the dependence of a small subpart (the training faculty) on the larger organization

4. Lewin states that "the life of every group depends upon its background" (p. 394). It is shown by de Schweinitz that the activities of labor-management committees depend on the stage of development in democratic thinking of the participants. A more detailed documentation of the importance of the background is given in Haydon's life history of the development of a program for V-12 students

Significantly, the scientific knowledge of democratic leadership is, at the moment, making the greatest advances in the studies of leadership training. The wealth of knowledge derived from these studies cannot be outlined here; suffice it to point out that the brief summaries by Lippitt, Zander, and Jennings demonstrate the agreement on a large body of research facts from which there are emerging clear principles of immediate practical utility.

That such is the case need not surprise us when we note the greater refinement of scientific *methodology* in these recent studies

on the training of leaders. A current research by the Boy Scouts of America uses thirty-two separate instruments for the measurement of leadership behavior and related variables.

One clear conclusion stands out in these articles on leadership in a democracy: *in the world of today the problem of democratic leadership is of vital practical importance*. All our scant knowledge of leadership is needed *now*. This necessity is the mother of the present symposium and of every article in it. It is only natural, therefore, to find the majority of articles dealing largely with the *applications* of our present knowledge to significant social problems.

Three articles center around the problem of industrial leadership and democracy. The contribution by de Schweinitz on the activities of labor-management committees describes one of the most significant social changes during the war. At present there are about 4,000 such committees representing more than seven million industrial workers. Though arising from the stresses of war, they bid fair to remain an important, permanent force in our industrial life. Mark Starr has shown how the unions, likewise in response to changing social conditions, have redefined the roles of their leaders and instituted new training procedures. Bavelas's study, stemming from previous researches on democratic leadership in the field of recreation, cuts across the practical problems of both unions and labor-management committees. In spite of its origin in very different fields, it is a striking fact that the work of Bavelas closely parallels the general approach to industrial leadership shown in the labor-management committees.

Lindeman's article points out the general importance in our culture of improving certain types of leadership through education. The contributions of Lippitt, Haydon, and Starr show that the educational institutions of the country are becoming more aware of this grave responsibility and taking action to fulfill it.

Youth-serving agencies give even greater stress to the training of



leaders Zander's article demonstrates that here, as in the field of education, our knowledge of leadership can develop fruitfully within the framework of institutions primarily concerned with the practical application of such knowledge

Jennings's runway of her important recent contribution points to the importance of using certain simple sociometric tools to discover whether "peripheral members" are being integrated into group life and whether the leadership role in the group is filling the needs of the group. Her findings point to the need for many and varied leader personalities in a democratic culture, and again emphasize the great educational job that must be achieved.

Viewing as a whole the work on leadership in industry, in education, and in the field of recreation we see not only its tremendous practical significance for our society, we also note that our scientific knowledge of democratic leadership has advanced most rapidly where it is most closely related to these applied fields. Furthermore, the reason for this progress becomes apparent in the light of present knowledge of leadership. The problem of democratic leadership is so embedded in the processes of the group and all the other forces affecting our social life that the controlled-laboratory study of leadership is well-nigh impossible. Oddly enough, it turns out to be easier to control and to study experimentally this matrix of forces in their natural setting than it is to reproduce them in a laboratory.

Looking ahead, we may suggest some conclusions regarding the future. The impact of war on our democracy has thrown into sharp relief our confusion about the details of the basic form of social life for which we fight, yet the vigor of our responses to this crisis proves that democracy is not decadent. But we need better cooperation and leadership both in research on democratic leadership and in the implementation of the results of such research. Isolationism must go!

Specifically, the artificial barriers dividing the social scientists must be broken so that cooperative research by members of different

disciplines will proceed along the most fruitful paths. But that is not enough—social scientists and the practical leaders in education, in industry, in the youth service field, and in all areas of our social life must cooperate more actively both to their mutual benefit and to the larger end that we shall not have fought in vain. In the field of democratic leadership the vital tasks confronting us are too big to permit isolationism at any level.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*The White Face*, by CARL RUTHVEN OFFORD. New York: Robert M. McBride and Company, 1943, 217 pages.

A first novel by a Negro journalist, *The White Face* is the story of pro-fascist and anti-Semitic propaganda in Harlem. The scene is the present day and the principal characters are a share-cropper couple who escape from a Georgia plantation and come to New York in search of a better life. The attempt to write a book on such a theme was good, but the author missed his mark in failing to make his story as convincing as it might have been.

*Brown Americans: The Story of a Tenth of the Nation*, by EDWIN R. EMBREE. New York: The Viking Press, 1943, 248 pages

This is an improvement of *Brown America. The Story of a New Race*, by the same author, which appeared in 1931. The present work has been brought up-to-date in terms of new materials and the slightly changed language now used in discussing "race relations."

This book is mainly about the Negro in the South. It reflects the views of an informed liberal. In highly readable—and brief—chapters it summarizes the history of the Negro in the United States, describes his "progress" in education, labor, and the professions, and states current obstacles encountered in the struggle for equal rights. There are profiles of outstanding Negro leaders. For the average reader, unfamiliar with the literature on the subject, this is an excellent introduction.

*The Public Health Nurse in Action*, by MARGUERITE WALES. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1941, 437 pages.

This book is a valuable addition to the growing number of volumes written expressly for students of nursing. Public-health nursing, like many other fields in applied science, is confronted with the problem of making an effective combination of theory and practice. Theory when presented alone often becomes abstract and detached from reality; discussions confined to practice, on the other hand, tend to lack continuity and frequently overwork the anecdotal method. The present book combines theory and practice in a most ingenious way—definite principles of public-

health nursing are clearly designated in the text of each chapter without in any way interrupting the discussion of the case studies. The student will be greatly benefited also by the gradual transition in each chapter from a consideration of a significant problem in public-health nursing to the narration of the interesting case histories that illustrate ways of attacking the problem in the actual nursing situation. The basic importance of the problems considered is beyond question—maternity and infancy, child health, and health of the school child, communicable disease, tuberculosis, orthopedic nursing, venereal disease, the chronically ill patient, and industrial nursing. The concluding chapter, which considers the future development of public-health nursing, emphasizes the importance of a continuing program of professional and general education for both the staff nurse and those who administer public-health nursing organizations. The public-health nurse will constantly be aware of the "community implications" of the "health situations which she finds in individual families or in particular neighborhoods." She will also interpret her professional responsibilities in terms of "social needs and maladjustments" and will use her knowledge as a weapon "in the fight for better conditions." Each chapter closes with a useful selected bibliography. There is also an excellent index.

*The Academic Man*, by LOGAN WILSON. New York: Oxford University Press, 1942, 242 pages.

Not often does a professor succeed in writing a book about professors that will be of interest and profit to his fellows. Professor Logan Wilson has succeeded in doing just this in *The Academic Man*. The academic profession is analyzed in a thoroughly objective fashion and is reported in a remarkably readable style. Professor Wilson deals admirably with the personnel problems of the academic profession, including recruiting, promotions, dismissals, tenure, economic status, recognition, professor-administrator relationships, and protective organizations. Although he is no propagandist, he makes it clear that improvements should be made. Professors and would-be professors should read this book.

*Education for Citizen Responsibilities*, edited by FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1942, 126 pages.

The National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship has

sought to solve some of its problems by seeking out experts or specialists in the various disciplines of the social sciences and asking each to write of the place of his specialty in a program of education for citizen responsibilities. The result is a little book of fourteen chapters in which anthropology, economics, geography, history, philosophy, political science, psychology, and sociology set forth their claim to places in the sun. The writers in the main take enlightened views of their fields, they think in functional terms and their suggestions for the inclusion of new materials and the use of new methods are bound to be interesting to any reader seeking guidance in any field. The total result, however, is in no sense a blueprint of a single comprehensive pattern for education. If a teacher should attempt to put all of the suggestions into practice, he would find both his own time and that of his students woefully insufficient. This, without doubt, is a virtue. The reader has a right to ask, however, whether there are objectives commonly held by the various writers; whether there are commonly accepted definitions of those objectives, and whether suggestions for the inclusion of new material are accompanied by balancing suggestions as to what to leave out. The reviewer must submit a negative answer to these questions. A final question, too, is pertinent. Does each writer rationalize that his is the central field in civic education, essential for intelligent living? The answer to this is yes.

*Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race*, by M. ASHLEY MONTAGU. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942, 216 pages.

This small, nontechnical volume interprets recent scientific findings on the subject of race. Contained in it are discussions of the origin of the race concept, the anthropological, biological, and psychological findings on the subject, and the relationships of "race" to culture, war, and democracy.

Ashley Montagu argues that the term "race" should be discarded completely. If used at all it should apply only to five or six large divisions of mankind. He advocates the substitution of the term "caste" in the cultural field and the term "ethnic group" in the biological context. He argues that too great significance has been attached to physical and mental differences between different ethnic groups and states that "the one thing that we cannot do is to prove or demonstrate that the differences of behavior or culture have anything to do with innate or inherited

qualities" (p. 180). Earlier the author states "it is culture which makes 'brains' and not brains culture" (p. 63).

The book contains an index and bibliography as well as an appendix summarizing State legislation against mixed marriages in the United States.

The book should be most useful to teachers and leaders of public opinion who wish to have a short summary of recent scientific investigations about the subject of race but who do not have the time to wade through long volumes of case records and experimentation.

*Race: Science and Politics*, by RUTH BENEDICT. New York: Modern Age, 1940, 274 pages.

*Race: Science and Politics* is a popular statement of recent anthropological findings about the subject of race relations. Dr. Benedict's book is divided in two sections. The first portion is an interpretation of contemporary research about the races of mankind. There are discussions of "race, what it is not," the migration and mingling of peoples, what is hereditary, and who is superior. The second portion of the book deals with the subject of racism, its history and use as political strategy.

This is one of the most important books in the field and it is so written that it can be used by any teacher in a form understandable for students of high-school age levels and above.

*Race Differences*, by OTTO KLINEBERG. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935, 367 pages.

Although this book is several years old it is still one of the most useful volumes in the field of race. The author treats race biologically, psychologically, and culturally. The volume is short and easily readable but it is well documented and contains careful analyses of various tests and experiments.

Any one who reads this book will have an invaluable fund of information, will know precisely what a race is and what it is not, and will be able to make an intelligent stand for the democratic principle that no race is inherently superior or inferior. As Dr. Klineberg says (p. 345), "The general conclusion of this book is that there is no scientific proof of racial differences in mentality."

*A Camping Manual*, by R. ALICE DROUGHT New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1943, 167 pages.

*A Camping Manual* covers, with admirable selection of important and suggestive detail, a wealth of subjects ranging from campsite selection and development, through counselor training, to trips out of camp; and includes a penetrating "Camp Rating Scale," the objective use of which by any individual or group interested in a particular camp could not fail to be a most salutary experience.

Every director reading this admirable little book will smile appreciatively at the emergence of each concisely stated problem and the sane, well-considered suggestions for meeting it. Regarding the keeping of records " . . . use simple forms, fill them in accurately and completely, file them where they can be found, use them constructively, or do not have them at all."

Speaking of camp programs "simple, outdoor living may be achieved "by substituting overnight hikes or canoe trips for basketball and baseball tournaments, by substituting hammers, nails, saws, and hand axes for the leather tooling, the pewter, and the bead looms of the craft shop "

Of even more value than the practicality of the book is its clear, convincing presentation of the ideal of simple, realistic camping. Such an ideal is not that of a formal school program transported to the wilderness, but one of simple, direct contact with living. Springing from the camp environment itself, it is calculated to foster in campers the qualities of resourcefulness, initiative, and physical and spiritual strength. One would search long before finding a more delightful and inspiring presentation of this very modern point of view on a subject so important to youth as that of organized summer camping.

*Play Centers for School Children: A Guide to Their Establishment and Operation*, by ADELE FRANKLIN AND AGNES BENEDICT New York: William Morrow and Company, 1943, 150 pages

This practical handbook is a comprehensive yet compact manual, an up-to-date record of plans, procedures, and materials used in one of New York City's most promising educational laboratories. The All-Day Neighborhood Schools have set up a program in a sound frame of reference for a democratic state—first by recognizing the human resources in all children in the community and then by carefully building a program for the

five to fourteen age groups where each boy and girl has an active responsible part in an all-day year round school society. The base of this structure is as enduring as the cooperative efforts of parent groups, community agencies, Public Education Association, and the Board of Education. The day-to-day activities took form and meaning as teachers, volunteer workers, and a few specially trained assistants and children carried on the business of living, working, and planning together from eight-thirty to five daily.

The problem of adequate facilities and space was worked out in the public-school buildings, on adjoining playgrounds, and with community resources. These and nearby public and private groups pooled and coordinated equipment ingeniously. Imagination, courage, and foresight worked wonders!

This whole undertaking is now a well-rooted, indigenous creation, one born of the urgent needs of hundreds of children. It points the way for schools in urban areas throughout the country. Concrete descriptions of the multisided venture are written and well supplemented by photographs, drawings, and various types of outlines. Specific activities in arts and crafts, music, dancing, science, social studies, and their related fields are given in brief running essay chapters and rounded out with pictures, lists of materials, and well-organized bibliographies.

In all instances the growth of children is paramount. Basic needs and interests are warp and woof of the extensive program. Case histories, records, and criteria for evaluating individuals and groups make up one major part of the story. These are simple, scientific, and practical.

The whole report carries pertinent materials for schools and play centers. It vividly records in 150 pages a new milestone in education, and gives direction to schools of today and tomorrow

*The Middle East. Crossroads of History*, by ELIAHU BEN-HORIN.

New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1943, 248 pages.

The author, Eliahu Ben-Horin, is active in the neo-Zionist movement, which favors an energetic Jewish policy in Palestine. This book of his deals mostly with the current history of the Middle East—Turkey, the Arab countries, and Palestine—with some historical background. The Holy Land forms the subject of one of the most informative chapters. The descriptive parts of the book serve as the background for Middle East postwar settlement suggestions. Mr. Ben-Horin recommends the



settlement of more than a million Palestine and Trans-Jordanian Arabs on the potentially fertile soil of Iraq. Such a transfer would free the Holy Land for a truly Jewish national home. The book is full of useful information from which even experts of this region may learn. It is spirited and ably written.

*Radio in Wartime*, by SHERMAN H. DRYER. New York: Greenberg, Publisher, Inc., 1942, 384 pages.

*Radio in Wartime* is a helpful analysis and criticism of the part played by American radio in the present war. Much of the book's value comes from the forthright and lively diagnosis of the virtues and defects in our wartime use of radio which is made by the chief author, Sherman H. Dryer, who writes as Director of Radio Productions for the University of Chicago. But Mr. Dryer, not content with his own criticism, has submitted each chapter to another expert, and the value of the study is increased by critical comments on individual chapters made by Robert J. Landry, Edward L. Bernays, Harold D. Lasswell, Max Lerner, Arch Oboler, Norman Corwin, and Bernard C. Schoenfeld. While the scope of the book is broad, the author has kept its focus on concrete details, and the volume contains selections from a number of typical broadcasts with Mr. Dryer's analysis of the reasons for their failure or success.

*Twentieth Century Philosophy—Living Schools of Thought*, edited by DAGOBERT D. RUNES. New York: Philosophical Library, 1943, 571 pages.

Contains twenty-two essays by leading English-speaking philosophers of varied (though largely American) background, each writing in a field of special interest. Part I deals with contemporary problems in ethics, aesthetics, axiology, law, history, science, life, metaphysics, and theology. The authors include, among others, James H. Tufts, Roscoe Pound, DeWitt H. Parker, Alfred N. Whitehead, Douglas C. Mackintosh. Part II contains statements by men representing particular types of philosophy. Jacques Maritain writes on Thomas Aquinas, Marvin Farber on phenomenology; William P. Montague on American realism; John Dewey on American pragmatism, John Somerville on dialectical materialism; Wing-tsit Chan on the philosophies of China, etc. Most of the essays are broadly informative and objective.

*The Psychology of Human Learning—an Introduction*, by J. A. McGEACH. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1942, 633 pages.

This textbook, consisting of fourteen chapters, is an outstanding contribution to psychological literature. The first two chapters are of a general nature, dealing with "Concepts and Methods" and "Curves of Learning." The following nine chapters contain a systematic factual summary of some aspect of learning. Throughout emphasis is on experimental results. Some discussion is given to relevant theories and methods of study. The last three chapters are more general in nature, covering "Fundamental Processes and Conditions of Learning," "Fixation and Elimination: Frequency and Related Variables," and "Fixation and Elimination the Empirical Law of Effect."

*Employment Problems of College Students*, by SAMUEL CLAYTON NEWMAN. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, 158 pages.

This book is a study of self-help employment among college students written with the purpose of showing its inadequacies both scholastically and personally. The author believes that financial need prevents many capable students from entering college and is convinced that student employment, as it exists today, does not provide the answer to the problem.

Dr. Newman devotes the first four chapters to a presentation of background, pointing out the unequal opportunities in higher education today, discussing the current philosophies on student self-help, and showing the extent and conditions of this problem as it exists in leading colleges and universities. The next two chapters are concerned with statistical findings on the effect of such employment on the college youth both academically and socially. The author gives a concise and up-to-the-minute review of present programs and policies and concludes with his proposed solution to the problem.

Dr. Newman has thoroughly studied the employed student from every possible aspect and the scope and organization of his material evidences a deep understanding of this problem. The book shows careful planning and complete thought. There are some parts of the work that are most surprising, e.g., the study on the inadequacy of student-aid funds or means of employment. These statistical studies are made more interesting and readable because of case histories quoted from the author's personal files.

The reader will find this a good history of an old problem and will also discover many good arguments for helping to provide suitable opportunities for earning an education.

In the reviewer's opinion, Dr. Newman has produced a worth-while work. The book offers something new. It is well documented with material and, what is more important in a work of this type, the material is up to date.

*Administering Vocational Education*, by WALTER H. MAGILL. Philadelphia: Educational Publishers, Inc., Guide to Action Series No. 1, 1941, xii + 118 pages.

This is the first monograph in a series designed to give pointed suggestions to educational administrators. It is planned that each volume in this series will treat one major area of education and will present existing conditions, desirable attainments, and procedures to be employed in moving toward the desired ends. This present volume deals for the most part with vocational-industrial education. The author indicates that any sound program of specialized industrial education must grow out of the needs of the immediate community and not out of the eagerness of school boards to take advantage of Federal and State subsidies. It is pointed out that programs of vocational-industrial education must provide four types of employment training courses: full-time pre-employment, cooperative part-time training, evening extension training, and intensive training courses for the unemployed. The author brings out many of the shortcomings in the present scheme of trade and industrial as well as many of the perplexing problems now confronting educators in the field of vocational education. To most of these problems the author has the answers. In dogmatic fashion sweeping statements are made and in the entire book there is not a single reference to any scientific study dealing with actual data gathered from the field. As a result the volume is disappointing, despite its fine organization.

*Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands*, by LYDIA PARRISH; introduction by OLIN DOWNES. New York: Creative Age Press, 1942, xxxi + 256 pages.

This is an unusually beautiful book as well as a most interesting one. Mrs. Parrish, the wife of the distinguished painter Maxfield Parrish, has spent the winters on St. Simon's Island, off the coast of Georgia, for the past twenty years. There she continued her life-long interest in the study

of Negro music and its origins. Her first experience of the Negroes and their music was that of a girl in a Quaker community whose abolitionist tendencies had made their locality first a station of the underground railroad in slave times, and later a haven where ex-slaves gathered and sang. Today, Mrs. Parrish is the chatelaine of a home on St. Simon's Island in a district which proved a veritable sanctuary of Afro-American music. Mrs. Parrish's investigations have branched out from the sea islands of Georgia to the mainland, to the Bahamas and Haiti, and to Africa itself. The research of years is compiled in this book which traces the origins of the spirituals, the shout song, the ring-play, dance and fiddle songs, the religious songs, and the work songs of the Negro. The songs themselves are contained in the book in transcriptions made by Creighton Churchill and Robert MacGimsey. Some fine photographs of the old slaves of St. Simon's and their children enhance the loveliness of the volume. Mrs. Parrish's work and documentation constitute a record which adds a noteworthy book to those available on this interesting subject.

*The Native Labor Problem of South Africa*, by J. M. TINLEY. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1942, 281 pages.

Dr. Tinley, of the University of California at Berkeley, has made a most competent and authoritative study of labor problems in the Union of South Africa and this book presents his findings in an interesting and complete manner. The native labor problem of South Africa is extraordinarily complicated. In a population of ten millions, 70 per cent are natives (pure-blooded aboriginals of the Bantu race); 10 per cent are of Asiatic and mixed descent; and only about 20 per cent are of European origin. This small European minority, however, completely dominates the political and economic life of the country. The native population has been regarded as a natural resource of the region—a large supply of cheap unskilled labor for the gold mines and the grazing fields. The tribal life of the natives, with its pastoral economy, has been thoroughly disrupted. Malnutrition and related causes have sapped the vitality of the native population. An economy of prices and wages has been superimposed on a more primitive tribal economy. The material for this significant study was gathered in South Africa, and is based on careful research. The author looks to the raising of the efficiency of native workers, both in agriculture and other industries, as a first step in affording them a fuller part in the economic life of the country.

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## WOMEN IN THE POSTWAR WORLD: FOREWORD

Just as after the last war, a far greater number of women than ever before found that they could make a place for themselves in the business and professional world, so it seems that in this war there will be a great many women who have made places for themselves in new occupations, occupations very largely that have to do with machinery, and which in the past have been held almost exclusively by men.

It is more than probable that many of the women who are now doing extremely good jobs will nevertheless want to return to their homes at the end of the war. They are doing their jobs for patriotic reasons or because they cannot bear to sit with folded hands while their husbands and sons are in danger. In normal times they were fully occupied in their own homes and are willing and anxious to return to them.

Many women, however, will have found places in the business world, in the professions, in factories, and in the fields. The breadwinner in many a family may have been taken from them to some faraway battlefield, or they may really have found that this added interest in life is something they do not wish to give up.

There is little doubt but that a good proportion of the women now at work will want to continue working when the war is over. That being the case, I think one of the most important things for us to do is to face the fact that no economy of scarcity will re-employ

the men in the armed services and keep such women as wish to be at work, at work. I think there is only one way to open up vistas where full employment can be enjoyed throughout the world and that is the vision of world development and the opening up of wider markets for world goods through the increased well-being of the peoples who have in the past existed on a very primitive scale. It is necessary, I think, for men and women alike to study this problem of postwar employment, to convince themselves of what are the steps to be taken, and then to study methods of education by which these steps can actually be made a reality in the near future.

Women have more of a stake in these decisions than ever before, not only because of the interests which have come into their lives, but because it is probable that more women will be the breadwinners and have dependents to support and educate.

In these pages the whole problem of the postwar world will be discussed in detail, but it is well to remember that women's interests are not separated from those of the men. What is going to give women a greater responsibility in life will also give men a similar one, and therefore on these problems they must work together if really beneficial results are to be obtained.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

## EDITORIAL

One of the earliest defeatists in the history of women was Ismene, sister of the daring Antigone, who, undaunted, persisted in her plans for burying their brother Polyneices, despite the ban imposed by the king. Torn by her love for Antigone and her obedience to masculine rule, Ismene, realizing that her opposition was having no effect on Antigone, finally asked in bewilderment, "Were we not born women, not made to strive with men?"

This argument, which served only to strengthen Antigone's resolve, has had an amazing number of ramifications from the days of Sophocles to the present time. That woman's place, once so easily identified as the home, is no longer subject to such definite boundaries has been increasingly obvious for over a quarter of a century in this country. Two wars within that period have certainly accelerated her progress.

In postwar planning one of the most vital problems will be that of employment. Obviously, the place of women in the postwar world will be of great significance, if the employment problem is to be treated intelligently. Now that the latent potentialities of countless numbers of women have been revealed both to themselves and to the public, it would be unfortunate if this revelation were lost. The fields that have been opened to women because of the manpower shortage may continue to remain open to them for a variety of reasons, aside from their obvious ability, after the war. Primarily, of course, the war has made it impossible for enormous numbers of boys to complete more than a year or two of college; many will not even reach college until after the war. The present shortage of physicians and physicians-in-training is an illuminating indication of the trend. Many have had the most intensive training in their whole education in skills for which there will be little use in the postwar world. Such intensive training is a necessary concomitant of war, as is the fact that a great many able and trained men will be physically incapacitated for the work they did before the war. Hence women

must be trained for all the type of work and all the responsibilities accompanying postwar reconstruction.

This issue of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY has been sponsored by Rho Chapter of Pi Lambda Theta, a national organization for women in the field of education. For the planning and execution of the issue, the editor is indebted to Dr. Lou LaBrant, Dr. Lenore Vaughn-Eames, Mrs. Eugenia Intermann, and Miss Anna May Jones. The purpose of the issue was to bring together a series of articles written by outstanding women on the postwar possibilities in their respective fields.

The response to this idea was gratifying, in spite of the pressure of work to which each author was doubtless subjected. The richness and variety in these articles bears testimony to the wealth of experience and the clarity of viewpoint of each of the authors.

Unfortunately, the limitations of space have made it impossible to explore such subjects as engineering, agriculture, architecture, bacteriology, the arts, and other fields in which women have dared "to strive with men" and in which they have been successful.

DOROTHY I. MULGRAVE



## WOMEN'S SOCIAL POSITION

Margaret Mead

A simple approach to the problem of the position of women in the postwar world is to outline the relationship among various degrees of full, partial, or lack of employment in the postwar world, and demonstrate—as can be done—that only under full employment will married women be given choice. In a disturbed, partially mobilized economy with great numbers of men under arms, there will undoubtedly continue to be employment of women, partially motivated by shortage of labor and partly by the various other conditions which are forcing women into employment today: shortage of husbands, absence of husbands, insufficient allotments, etc. In a period of depression, there will be increasing pressure, wherever it is possible to exercise it, to give jobs to men in preference to married women, with repercussions on the employment of all women, married or unmarried. With full employment, stabilized in an integrated world economy, men would be able to give their wives a choice between contributing their labor to a household which had an ample monetary basis, or contributing the monetary results from their labor outside the home, that is, we could support an economy in which each household could afford a full-time homemaker. This is not the way it is usually phrased, but actually households can be divided into those in which the husband can support a wife who contributes nothing but instead consumes heavily plus paying for housekeeping services, those in which a wife contributes services for which otherwise some one else would have to be paid—cooking, laundry, cleaning, care of children, etc.—and those which cannot afford to support an adult who devotes full time to these domestic activities, in which in fact both husband's and wife's wages are needed to maintain a home that cannot support a full-time domestic worker even under their combined efforts. Full employment would presumably provide wages for the males of this lowest strata which

would make it unnecessary for their wives to work outside. Under such a system unmarried women would be assured of employment and there would be choice in the case of all married women. This would involve choice for husbands as well as for wives, in planning how their households were to be organized.

These conditions are, however, sufficiently obvious to need no further elaboration for this reading public. I shall instead devote this article to a consideration of some of the other problems concerning the position of women which will face us during the next century.

### **The Relationship Between Married and Unmarried Women**

After this war, and for the next twenty years at least, there will be a shortage of men; in many countries there is already a sex ratio in which women far exceed men in number. This means an increase in the number of employed women since it seems unlikely that the present trend away from male responsibility for able-bodied unmarried female relatives is likely to be arrested. It means increasing stylization of the role of the unmarried women, and it means an opportunity to make a positive stylization because women who do not marry in a generation when war takes a heavy toll are accorded more dignity than those who are believed to remain unmarried because men who might have married them do not want to. With present-day attitudes toward the relationships between men and women, both women *and* men who are believed to remain unmarried in spite of their own wishes are regarded as failures. The failure is more complete for the woman because marriage is regarded virtually as the most honorable full-time job she can have, but ridicule is probably as deep for the very few men whom no one will marry. The difference in valuation of the married state for the male sex is, however, expressed in the small number of involuntary bachelors.

During the next twenty years then there will be an opportunity to work out for the industrialized western countries, under relatively favorable conditions, new forms for unmarried women, where the

women themselves need not suffer from a sense of rejection, and where many new types of employment will have been opened to them during the war. There seem to be two major directions which this development might take, again heavily dependent upon the degree of full employment that can be steadily maintained. With full employment we may tend to arrange women in a continuum: unmarried women who work outside the home, married women who work outside the home, married women who work inside the home, etc. Possibly, with more married women working outside the home, there will be an increased demand for unmarried women to play domestic roles which may be phrased in a more dignified way than they have in the past, so that as more married women leave the home, more unmarried women—with a taste for domestic occupations—may enter it, as housekeepers, nurses, etc. Conceivably, also, the positions of secretary, teacher, nurse, and many assistantships which are now phrased as business employment might be reassessed for what they really are, the exercise of the sort of personal skills—in an office—which a wife exercises in a home. We might then develop a new dichotomy between women who wish to earn their living by the continuous exercise of personal skills, fitting their activities to the rhythm of other people's lives, adjusting the environment, either physically or psychologically, so that other people may do their lessons, lead a political party, run a hospital, or perform scientific experiments, and women who prefer to earn their living impersonally, at a machine, in a counting house, or in a studio, and who need at least part of the same personal service from others that is usually provided for men. If, however, we were to make this new dichotomy, or rather recognize the two ends of a continuum, it would become immediately apparent that there are probably a great many men who are fitted by temperament and training to do the personal relations jobs, and who would prefer to do them. This in turn might lead to types of marriage in which a woman who had no ability or taste for making life simpler and pleasanter for others was able to

marry, to his pride and hers, a man who had just these skills and delighted to exercise them. The false dichotomy which speaks of women who work in an office or a factory as "working" and women who work in the home as "doing nothing" or "not working" would vanish. However, a glance at the deep degree of conventionalization which surrounds the economic arrangements of marriage, and also other occupations in which personal relationships are explicit, doctor-nurse, for instance, suggests that the more we recognize the personal and service side of other relationships besides marriage, the more need there will be for stylization. This is most notably so in the case of the personal secretary whose relationship to her chief is often at least as satisfactory as his wife's, but which is robbed of some of the dignity it might have because it has not been stylized as rewarding, unless she "marries the boss."

An alternative to some such blurring and redefining of the lines between married and unmarried women will be an increasing sharpening of those lines, the development of a definite style of life for the unmarried woman, and perhaps a stylization of relationships between married and unmarried women so as to provide for more social relationships. At the present time, unmarried women who have solved many of their problems of life by setting up joint *ménages* with other women, usually one woman being willing to do the personal job of making a satisfactory environment for the other, still find relationships with men and with married women difficult. They do not fit into dinner parties. If they see men alone they become potential threats to the men's wives or the meetings become a disturbance in their own nonmarried adjustments. In a world where a great part of business and professional relationships is conducted socially, this lack of patterns for unmarried women is a blemish.

#### **Relationship Between Child Bearing and Child Rearing**

Although all human societies of any degree of complexity have separated—for the upper strata of the population—the act of child

bearing from the tasks of child rearing, including suckling, nevertheless in most thinking about the position of women the two are confused. Even with the great increase of artificial feeding and the rather slight chance of re-establishing breast feeding as a social practice, at least beyond three months, most discussions about the position of women do not discuss merely the period of gestation and recovery from delivery, but assume that a woman having once borne a child will give most of her time to rearing it, or staying at home while some one else rears it, for several years afterward. The most cursory examination of the difference between modern child rearing, with its total equipment designed to separate the child from the mother, complete with bottle, crib, baby carriage, high chair, walker, pen, and swing, and primitive conditions where a child was almost constantly held, or swung from the mother's body, demonstrates how far civilization has come from a condition where child rearing was almost a physical extension of child bearing. Although there is a trend at present to increase the mother and child tie, to promote breast feeding, permit rocking or cuddling, and actually approve the parent handling the child a little more than is absolutely necessary, it seems unlikely that there will be any return to genuinely "natural conditions," natural being defined as human mammalian behavior that is unimplemented by human invention. Breast feeding fitted well enough into an agrarian economy; it fits less well with the exigencies of shopping under rationing. The complexities of modern society are built upon such an elaborate nexus of appointments and interlocking events that the increase in simple mutual relationships like that of mother and breast-fed baby seems unlikely. There are psychologists who argue that the child has a "need" for whatever small pieces of "natural" maternal behavior they are suggesting recreating, such as breast feeding or being supported by the human arm while fed with a bottle, or being taken care of continually by one human being until they can talk, etc. But it is doubtful if a very good case can be made for such needs unless we are willing to go the

whole way and say that human beings have a need to be rescued from the whole of civilization, from processed food, clothing, artificially heated and cooled houses, artificial transportation beyond the areas within which they could "naturally" travel, and most of all from language which seriously complicates the problems of human adjustment. If we resist, as most people do, the relentless logic of this position, the answer is not: "Well, let's still be as natural as we can, and do with as little civilization as we can and still belong to the Country Club and hold a good job." The answer would rather seem to be that it is necessary to study ways in which we can make more inventions as new needs develop on the basis of present ones.

The fact is that we have been progressively separating the two functions of child bearing and child rearing with each year of civilization. The most crucial days of adjustment in a child's life—the first days after birth—it spends away from its mother, in a tiny artificial bed, in the company of ten other babies howling in a different rhythm, and cared for by a strange woman. If it is not breast fed, it is fed by a strange woman also. When children are ill we take them out of the home and put them in a hospital with nurses who know how to get along with them beautifully—as long as their parents are not there. We expect children to learn the rhythms of life from an interplay between their own bodies and the side of a pen.

The whole question of women's position will be clarified if we keep separate the two questions, whether she wishes only to bear a child and keep a moral responsibility for that child—which is what a man does only a woman has to give nine months of life to it—or whether she wishes to rear the child, and whether her husband can afford, on the basis of his single earnings, to underwrite her doing it. Women who wish to have children will still remain handicapped professionally, even if they do not wish to rear them, as no man who planned to drop two or three years out of his career while he was young would be regarded as competing on an equal basis with his associates who had no such interruption of their professional lives.

### The Question of Her Biological Function

A psychiatrist with a large feminine practice once made the assertion that he had never seen a case of a woman who was completely able to have a child, *i.e.*, was married, financially comfortable, without hereditary taint or physical defect, and who refused to have one who did not show psychological damage. We still have to solve the question of whether women's reproductive functions are so basic that no amount of social modification can develop a woman who voluntarily—against social sanctions—holds those functions in abeyance. Even if such a limitation were found to exist, we would still have no evidence that society could not assign women to infertility in such a way that no psychological damage was done. And if this can be done in any given case—because of hereditary taint, or lack of a suitable husband, or through dedication to religion—without damage to the women concerned, then there may be no limit beyond which social prescription may not go, while preserving the sanity of the women so reserved from child bearing. On the other hand, it may be that all women who are debarred from child bearing from any cause whatsoever are thereby handicapped so deeply that it will be the task of a more self-conscious civilization to try to compensate for and provide for that handicap. (It may be said parenthetically that this problem is closely and complexly linked with the question of whether lack of sex expression has effects which, while they may be guarded against and compensated for, cannot be prevented.)

But any serious planning for the position of women should include research on this problem and especially on the relationship between: (a) celibacy and adjustment; (b) an active sex life, but no children, and adjustment; (c) a scanty sex life accompanied by child bearing, special attention to time-sequence relationships between these two, and (d) relative handicap from being in a "social" position to bear children, but having no desire to bear them, and being anxious to have a child but socially unable to have one. From such investigations we might find out whether women's biological

productivity was an irreducible biological minimum need which culture could not effectively repattern, or whether the basic conflicts and maladjustments arise only when cultural dictates require one type of behavior and the individual woman, either through temperament, character, or historical individual accident, wishes to do something else. At present the evidence favors the latter conclusion, but the problem needs further research.

### Stylization of Sex Membership

To discuss "the position of women" at all is objectively unjustifiable. All of society is keyed to a relationship between the sexes and any change in the so-called position of one affects the other. However, some societies use nonmembership in the opposite sex as an important dynamic and thereby set up definite limits to change that will not be accompanied by maladjustment. In present-day America one of the most important pieces of data about a man is that he is not a woman, and about a woman that she is not a man. Millions of people resist impulses, turn down jobs, marry people they do not like, wear clothes they detest, cross their legs or do not cross them, every day, just to prove that they are not members of the opposite sex. One of the crucial questions will therefore be whether we continue to educate each sex to make a point of pride, or shame, in that it is not actually the other sex, or whether we can develop a picture of a two-sex world in which membership in one's own sex is regarded as a simple positive fact. It is not without significance that in the United States there has been more resistance on such points as women doctors serving in the Army than in European countries, where the "position of women" is theoretically lower. Unless the culture patterning which makes men define their masculinity in terms of doing something a woman cannot do is changed, intense opposition between women who want to pass the last outposts of occupational restriction and men who feel their masculinity threatened thereby may develop just as we seem closest to occupational and economic



equality between the sexes Unless this problem is settled we may expect continuing difficulties when men work under women superiors, or women find themselves married to their intellectual inferiors, both sexes being unable to tolerate a balance which they believe in some way threatens their full membership in their own sex.

### Conflicts Between World Views of Individual Lives

As the world becomes more closely knit, the conflict between the many societies who think it is more important to be born than to live a long time and those who think the measure of an individual life is its duration will become more acute. The latter view is relatively rare, although because we share it with other Protestant-dominated countries and with Russia and with some primitive societies we tend to think of it as natural But for most other cultures, for almost the entire Orient and some parts of Africa, it is held a good thing to be born, even though death follows a few days after This emphasis on every human life, regardless of duration, inevitably devotes women through the child-bearing years of their lives to child bearing It results in enormous discrepancies in population, and these discrepancies may lead to war The women in countries where it is considered better to have two children who grow up strong and well than ten, only two of which survive, inevitably are given many opportunities for a social functioning which can be very much like men's Yet, unless some compromise is worked out between these two positions, the few cultures which insist on duration as the criterion of life may well go down before the teeming strength of those who do not An increased standard of living with its inevitable involuntary reduction in birth rate is a *sine qua non* of a world in which women are to be regarded not as something completely different from men with a completely different social function, but as something different from men in certain special respects only In countries or classes with a very high birth rate and high infant death rate, where women speak of birth and death in the same breath ("I

was always having a baby or burying one"), women may have power within the home; they may be able to make or maim their menfolk, but they cannot conceivably function along lines almost parallel to those of men, as full inheritors of the cultural tradition.

Yet it is possible that if there is a decreasing emphasis upon the production of large quantities of children whose life span is not a matter of great concern to society, and an increasing emphasis upon producing a smaller number of very healthy, long-lived individuals, there will also result a larger number of women who are unmarried and condemned to infertility. Twenty-five years ago radical thinkers solved this problem by suggesting that every woman had a right to have a child and that society would in time validate that right. To-day we know so much more about the formation of personality, and how necessary parents of both sexes are to the development of a well-rounded human being, that it is unlikely that such a policy would seriously be urged. The alternative, a development of some quite new social form in which possibly the stronger men could assume social fatherhood, although not biological fatherhood, for the children of more than one woman, would require a series of new inventions in human relations.

Finally, research needs to be done upon the question of drive and the relationship between drive and child bearing on the one hand, and drive in men and childless women on the other. It may be that what we call, without knowing much about it, "drive" is in some ways a socially developed function, complementary to child bearing.

### Conclusion

Thinking in this whole field will be facilitated by abandoning titles like the title to this article and recognizing that there is no such thing as the "position of women" but only relationships between men and women in society.

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## THE ROLE OF THE NEGRO WOMAN

Anna Arnold Hedgeman

In order to understand what Negro women conceive as their role in the postwar world, one must first of all comprehend the continuous participation in the struggle for freedom which has been the lot of Negro women in America.

Interestingly enough, Horace Mann Bond, President of the Fort Valley State College, Fort Valley, Georgia, in writing on the Negro in the armed forces of the United States prior to World War I, mentions a Negro woman—Deborah Gannett—who served as an enlisted member of the revolutionary forces. She was cited for having “exhibited an extraordinary instance of female heroism, discharging the duties of a faithful, gallant soldier and at the same time, preserving the chastity of her sex unblemished. . . and was discharged from the service with a fair and honorable discharge.” Mr. Bond comments, “Deborah Gannett, therefore, may be said to have preceded the members of the WAC in a variety of virtues by 159 years.” This, of course, is just an incident but it is a symbol of the way in which the Negro woman has been a part of the warp and woof of America’s struggles. Negro men have participated in all of the wars in which America has been involved. Negro women have, of course, participated in all of the activities which have been women’s portion of the war load. They have helped feed the armies, they have been concerned over family separations necessitated by war, they have nursed the wounded, they have planted crops and harvested them, and they have generally boosted the morale of the fighting forces without regard to race, color, or creed.

Negro women have been intimately a part of the struggle of the Negro people for freedom. One of the symbolic figures, whose life story is packed with drama, was the great Harriet Tubman. She was a leader in the underground movement, better known as the underground railroad. Harriet Tubman organized white and Negro

support in the task of helping slaves reach free soil. She is quoted as having said that she never lost a passenger in her underground railroad service. Harriet Tubman is the symbol, too, of all the Negro women who have prayed for freedom, crying out in the midst of deep personal agony "Ethiopia must yet stretch forth her hand"

The story of slave rebellions has never been adequately reported in our American history, and therefore few Americans realize that there were many slave revolts throughout the South and, for that matter, the North during our early days. In other words, the picture of the Negro working in cotton fields, singing under magnolias with watermelons and banjos for accompaniment, has built a story-book picture of the Negro as happy and content. It has been difficult, therefore, for America generally to know of the fundamental struggle for racial freedom which has always been so basic in Negro life, and which is best expressed by the revolutionary bit of music "Go Down Moses, Tell Old Pharaoh to Let My People Go." This expresses the continuous concern with freedom which ran through Negro communities during the darkest days of slavery.

World War I, with its cry of "We fight to save democracy," caught the imaginations of the Negro community, and again Negro women responded. The words liberty and freedom, struggle for humanity, were the catchwords.

There are a great many stalwart, older, Negro women who—from public platforms, from their positions as presidents of important schools and colleges, and through their relationships to civic and community life—sensed the fundamental menace to democracy of anti-Negro attitudes in American life long before Hitler dramatized his fantastic racial theory of Nordic supremacy. These women are too little known outside of the Negro community, but they have through the years made a fundamental contribution to the cause of freedom for Negro people and have continuously worked for democracy in practice for all people. Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune is best known of this group, but Mary Church Terrell, Charlotte

Hawkins Brown, Nannie Burroughs, Helen Curtis, Eugenia Hope, Addie Hunton, Mary Talbert, Lorraine Green, Eva D. Bowles, and numbers of others stand shoulder to shoulder with her in the militancy of their struggle for freedom for Negroes and for Negro women specifically. For it must always be remembered that Negro women have had to battle for their disinherited men and have also faced the sex handicap, which all women face in American life.

With this sort of heritage of concern for freedom of race and freedom of Negro women, and with the deepest desire always for the freedom of their country (for Negroes are as American as any group and perhaps a little more so since no major migration has affected the Negro community for better than 70 years), it is not surprising that World War I found Negroes in a particularly responsive mood for the battle cry—"This is a war for democracy."

Negroes rallied in World War I, as they have in all historical American struggles. The *Journal of Negro Education* for the summer of 1943 discusses the role of the American Negro in World Wars I and II, and is a "must" reading for those who would understand how much Negroes have participated in America's wars. Of the nearly 400,000 Negro men called to the colors in World War I, 200,000 were sent across the seas to fight on foreign soil. Nineteen Negro women served overseas in this war. Mr. Emmett J. Scott makes this comment with regard to women and their role in World War I, "One of the outstanding highlights of World War I is the patriotic service of Negro women, who have not hesitated to shoulder every burden possible in order to promote Negro morale." It is obvious from this quotation that Negro women very early learned through their men in the armed forces that the cancer of race prejudice was hindering the full productive possibilities of Negro soldiers. Democracy was to be saved but Negroes were not sharing it.

Mrs. Helen Curtis, first Negro woman overseas in World War I, in commenting on the significance of Armistice day for her, said, "The five Negro women who helped me close the camp in France

and who worked with the Negro men who buried the American dead at Romaine, knew that the fighting had ceased but that democracy had not won. We knew because of the insults which came to us even as the firing ceased."

Following World War I, Negro women found themselves struggling for the respect of their returning veterans and working in every way to help hold families together, in spite of lower relief standards for Negroes even in many northern cities, in spite of bread lines, and all of the other agonies of a depression which affected the Negro more than any other group in America since he is always the last hired and the first fired. In New York City, for example, as high as twenty-three per cent of the relief load was Negro.

The next period which stands out in the minds of Negro women is the lend-lease period when we found ourselves expanding industries in order to aid in the material needs of the fighting forces of the democracies. America was not yet in the war when Negro women found it necessary to ally themselves actively with all of the important groups that were helping to open up job and training opportunities, as well as upgrading possibilities, for the Negro worker. Women were members of delegations from Urban Leagues and NAACP's all over America, and finally joined in the March-on-Washington Movement, which brought together—under the leadership of A. Phillip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Walter White of the NAACP, and Lester Granger of the National Urban League—representation from many civic and community organizations all over the country. Women were ready to March-on-Washington in order to express to America their concern that in the midst of our expansion and in the midst of our public denunciations of Hitlerism we should be practising the same kind of philosophy at home. Out of this period of struggle, Executive Order 8802 was issued by the President. This order made it illegal for industries with war contracts and Government to discriminate against

individuals because of race, color, creed, or national origin. Thus, before America entered World War II, there was frustration running deep in Negro communities. Negro women found repeatedly that they had the handicap of color and sex in their efforts to find a place in work life, and always they fought for work opportunities for their husbands, brothers, and sweethearts.

Pearl Harbor unified much of America and Negroes went down on that famous December 8 to say, "Here am I, send me to the defense of my country." They were told, "We are not ready for you yet," and this meant to the Negro community that segregation plans had not been completed and that the dirty work was not yet outlined. The Navy was not taking Negroes at all except as messmen. Discussions were held all over Negro communities and in the press. Many Negroes felt that they should not participate in the war because of segregation. As the weeks rolled by and Selective Service began operation, a young Negro lad hawked his papers at the corner of 125th Street and Seventh Avenue and these were his words, "Buy a paper! Buy a paper! Read all about it. You're all gonna be in uniform soon. You're gonna have a chance to fight for the democracy you ain't never had. Buy a paper!" When he was challenged by a passer-by and asked whether the paper had given him his slogan, he said, "Naw. Ain't you colored? And ain't it the truth?" He was just 14.

In barrooms and grills, in beauty parlors, in churches, in meetings of professional societies, wherever Negroes congregated, there was discussion of the relationship of the Negro to the war effort. Negro women have found themselves in World War II carrying the largest share of the American war load. For in addition to all of the agonies which other American women share, they know that the uniform of the armed services and their auxiliaries cannot be counted upon as protection for their women and men. They have had to stand by and see segregated units of Negro women organized by the Army. They have had to watch the uniform of the WAVES, knowing that

Negro women are not considered good enough to relieve the men of the United States Navy. They know that it is difficult for their men in uniform to secure adequate train service, or to get a cup of coffee, or sometimes even to use a lavatory, because of American color prejudice. Then they remember that we have talked of the Four Freedoms, of the "Century of the Common Man," and of our hatred of Hitler's theory of racial superiority.

A survey of 75 requests for speakers at meetings in New York, New Jersey, and Delaware, during the last two years, shows that all but three of them were concerned with the discussion of the role of the Negro in this war. Negro women realize that since most of the men are, or will be, in the armed forces new responsibility for the home front rests on their shoulders. They are taking this responsibility seriously.

The Negro women have been during World War II ardent students of international affairs. They have suffered with India and understood fully when Gandhi and other Indian leaders said that they could not wait to discuss their freedom until after the war. Negroes understood this because of their own expectations after World War I and the frustration of not receiving the benefits which were supposedly to be expected from a democratic society for which they had fought, bled, and died. Negroes were concerned with our failure to aid China quickly enough. Negroes remembered a little, black king who at the League of Nations presented a plea for Ethiopia and found himself rejected. His speech at this session of the League of Nations is also "must" reading for Americans. Negro women have gravely watched our American State Department cooperate with the Fascist leaders of Italy who helped in the rape of Ethiopia. Black Frenchmen, Negro women understand, are an active part of the de Gaulle movement, which has had such difficulty in securing recognition from America and has only received qualified recognition belatedly from Britain. Negro women heard Winston Churchill indicate his deep concern for the British Empire as an Empire, and they remember that Africa, India, and the West



Indian Islands are involved in this empire system. They are concerned that our Good Neighbor Policy in connection with South America should find it necessary for us to have a special hotel in Miami Beach, Florida, in order that those brown good neighbors might not be humiliated by our American color line. Negro women have firsthand information of the treatment of American Negro soldiers by their own comrades in arms both here and abroad. For Negro women then, with this kind of a heritage, there is no postwar period

There is the necessity to function as they have been through the years, utilizing every conceivable resource in the great struggle for the development of American democracy. Many Negro women have been saying in recent months that the Negro is perhaps the most significant group of people in the world at the moment. They realize that the color issue is a potent force in the world situation. They believe that brown, yellow, and black people listen to official *Washington* but watch to see whether America's practice toward people of color is in line with governmental pronouncements. So American Negro women have a new sense of mission. They believe that America can be a great leader for the democratic cause. They believe profoundly in the Four Freedoms, but they know that lip-service to the democratic ideal is not enough. They believe that if they can help America face her moral obligation to practise what she preaches, they may not only be helpful to the American Negro; they may not only help America assume an honest role in the world struggle, but they may also help the underground movements of the Fascist countries, as well as the people of color all over the world.

Some of the younger women who are on the firing line have made interesting comments which indicate the trend in Negro communities. Mrs. Pauline Redmond Coggs, Executive of the Washington, D C., Urban League, said:

Women in general are in the process of becoming fuller citizens and workers. Experience in industry in this war period is teaching them the importance of full employment, of the trade union movement, of the

press and its relationship to labor. In other words, women are beginning to be "in the know." They have begun to sense the importance of consumer problems, of lobbies, and their potency in national affairs, and they are interested in the international machinery which may be set up to meet postwar problems. The Negro woman has been affected by all of these forces. She will want to belong to the community because she should belong to the community. She will expect to integrate herself into total community planning.

Mrs. Beulah Whitby, Executive Secretary of the Detroit Office of Civilian Defense, speaks from the social worker's point of view in these words:

Three special alignments must claim the complete commitment of social workers in the days just ahead. The first is with those economic and political forces by which an economy of full employment must be achieved if the economic standards of living and the general well-being of the people are to survive. The second is the task of working with interracial communities and those forces working to guarantee the survival of America as a united nation. The third is with the world community. The emergence of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and other interracial social work programs forecast that future.

Mrs. Jeanetta Welch Brown, Executive Secretary of the National Council of Negro Women, believes that:

The role of the Negro woman in the postwar world is immediately connected with the strategic gains made by all women in the present world situation. Sex must never again be a detriment affecting broad opportunities for women. Prejudice based on sex has no place in the present scheme of social activity—where it is accentuated by the factor of color—doubly affirmative steps must be taken to eliminate both. Thus . . . Negro women in the postwar world must face problems which all women face and accept the responsibilities along with all women for social and economic progress

Olive L. Diggs, Editor of *The Bee*, a Chicago newspaper, claims that:

Negro women must expect no special privileges. They must assume

their full responsibility as citizens and struggle continuously to claim victories according to their capacity and productivity

Mrs. Mabel K. Staupers, Executive Secretary of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, recommends that:

Negro women continue to meet the challenge of helping America develop full democracy for all citizens. It is impossible for Negro women to permit their men to return from battlefields and find lack of privilege and opportunity.

Thomasina Johnson, Legislative Representative of the National Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, has this to say:

The Negro woman today knows that the postwar world will be directed by Government, labor, and industry, with the military forces dominating in each group. The modern Negro woman is accepting this challenge and responsibility with the grim determination of shaping a new postwar world of first-class citizenship for all. One of the many tools which she is using in molding a new world is the passage of good legislation with adequate safeguards enforcing the democratic administration of all Government agencies and the election of public officials who will ensure these objectives in order to make America worthy of the sacrifices of Negro men, who are fighting and dying on many battlefields today.

Dr. Merze Tate, Associate Professor of History at Howard University, demonstrates the interest of Negro women in international affairs. Her scholarly book, *The Disarmament Illusion*, presented under the auspices of the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College, has received comment from important London authorities, as well as outstanding American experts. The *Annals* of November 1942, the official publication of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, has this to say of Dr. Tate's work: "In this exhaustive study by Dr. Tate, the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College has sponsored an impressive contribution to our knowledge of the

problems of world peace" Dr. Tate has made this contribution to world thinking as a woman, interested in international affairs. We are glad that she is a Negro woman, and urge that many of the problems we face can be better understood in light of her contribution.

And so for the Negro woman the postwar period has already begun. As we work to abolish segregation in the armed forces and their auxiliaries, abolish the segregation of Negro blood through orders from the Army and Navy, as we struggle for a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee, and as we use every educational and legislative force through our work with labor, educational organizations, and community generally, we are aware that we work not just for Negro women. We are deeply conscious of our relationship to the colored peoples of the world, to the democratic underground movements struggling so hard for recognition, and to the desire we all have as Americans to see our country lead in the practice of the democratic ideal.

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## WORKING WOMEN

Margaret Willis

What will be the place of women in business and industry in the postwar world? With such a subject it is great fun to play at being a prophet when talking with a group of friends, since they are kindly people who will forget all the wrong guesses and remember the forecasts which come true. But it takes a combination of nerve and rashness to speculate on paper where the good guesses and the bad will have equal prominence.

On such a question there is only one certainty, and that is that the answer depends on many variables which at the present time cannot be weighed with any accuracy. The best that one can do is to attempt to classify and describe these variables, to chart the direction of present changes, and to indicate the possible answers. The main groups into which the variables seem to fall are those of attitudes and desires of men and women, the economic framework, and the social patterns within which they operate.

First among them is the attitude of women themselves. It is the belief of the writer that there is not the same sense of pioneering among most of the women who are now entering new fields that there was in 1917. This feminine generation has learned to take privileges and freedom for granted, and relatively few individuals have chafed against the remaining restrictions because the majority already faced more choices than they were prepared to make.

The manpower crisis has lowered bars, of course. In some cases the removal of restrictions opened up avenues for advancement that women had long coveted; in others the barriers had hardly been noticed and great persuasive powers have been needed by business and industry to recruit for the new jobs. In many businesses women have moved into executive positions never before open to them. You find them, too, in occupations once practically monopolized by men, behind the wickets in banks and railroad stations, sweeping out rail-

way cars, and even working in the railway yards. You find them operating machines in factories and running streetcars and taxis. Nearly seventeen million women are working now, against about ten and a half million in 1940. There are eight and a half times as many in machine industries as in 1939.

The attitudes of men to this invasion of their fields run the whole gamut of emotions, but beneath them all is the legal fact that wherever a woman has taken the place of a man who was drafted the job still belongs to the man if he applies for it within sixty days of being mustered out. Many other positions that women are filling are war jobs which will disappear with the end of war contracts.

In those that will continue the status of women in relation to other workers is warmly debated and variously handled. Some union leaders are working to be sure that women get equal pay for equal work, hoping by that to make sure that after the war employers do not use woman labor to break down union standards. Other union leaders resent the invasion of women and try to keep them in a subordinate position, which is all too easy, as few women have any experience in organization.

Consciously or unconsciously each individual's attitudes are colored by his notion of the economic prospects of the postwar period. Many, perhaps the majority, with the depression woven into the fundamental patterns of their being, are rather hopelessly looking forward to a "boom and bust" economy, while a growing minority are hoping and planning for stabilized prosperity at a high level of consumption and employment. Whether working women will be an asset or a menace to the role of men as breadwinners depends to a large extent upon whether our economy can provide full employment. While it is estimated that two thirds of the women now working will wish to continue, the pressures against the employment of women will be enormously multiplied by depression.

The social patterns also are in a state of flux, and it is too early to say whether the present shifts will pass with the war or whether they

will be permanent. It seems reasonably clear that the white-collar jobs for women—teaching, secretarial work, and various kinds of merchandizing jobs—were enabled to attract and hold workers at low wages because of the social respectability attached to them. When the war made it equally respectable and somewhat more profitable to make airplanes, women deserted the old occupations in droves with the present embarrassing results for schools, offices, and stores. Whether the prestige of the old occupations will be restored with the coming of peace we cannot be certain.

This will depend in part, but only in part, upon wages. Curiously enough only a few groups among the traditional women's occupations, chiefly secretaries, clerks, and nurses, have been prevented from getting wage increases by the wartime wage freeze. School teachers are exempt from the law as State employees. Most of the women in laundries, hotels, and restaurants were receiving substandard of living rates, and increases have not only been possible but in many cases have been necessary in order to permit the business to continue in operation. Those in factories have usually been paid at a lower rate than men for the same jobs, and the law permits equal pay for equal work. How much or how permanently the relative wage position of women will be improved no one can say. The possibility for some improvement is there, though there seems no chance that wage-rate discriminations will disappear.

In casting up the balance for the postwar period there are a few other factors which must be included. Until our total war casualties are known, we cannot tell how many women will be forced to continue to support themselves because they have lost their husbands or because there were not enough men for them to marry. In the postwar period we are likely to have, for the first time in the history of this Continent since the coming of the white man, a surplus of women.

The unvarnished truth at present is that girls are flocking into factory and mechanical jobs because that is where the available men

are. No one can be sure how strong that motive is or how many are influenced by it, but it is quite unrealistic to deny its existence. To the extent that there is a shortage of men after the war, it will persist as a motive.

The women with husbands and families offer a different problem. Some are working today because of economic necessity, others because it is likely to be fatal to a career to allow it to be interrupted for a period of years. Whatever the reasons the double burden is too heavy, and the fact that millions of women have carried it and that their children have grown up anyhow does not alter the basic reality that our social organization is laggard in its adaptation of the home and the role of women to the situation created by an industrialized society. A provocative statement of the problem and some proposed solutions are included in Elizabeth Hawes's recent book, *Why Women Cry*. Some other writers, including Pearl Buck, have tried to arouse American men and women to rethink the role and status of women in our country today.

When the home was the basic economic unit of society woman's functions as child-bearer, homemaker, and contributor to the economic welfare of the family constituted a heavy burden, but one that gave her a clear and undisputed function all her days. As the industrial revolution removed more and more of the basic processes in the provision of food and clothing from the home, many women went into the factories and began the double life of long factory hours and scanty home life. Women carried this heavy burden only because of economic necessity, and to men the leisure of their women became a symbol of their own economic success and social position. With the increasing demands of a "nice" home and well-cared-for children, "leisure" in the servantless home was only a relative term, anyhow, as long as children were young. But these mothers kept their youth and health, and the children outgrew the need for their care while they still had many years of productive life ahead and a great deal of energy to spend. Many became the inter-



fering mother-in-law of the stories, some turned to bridge; some to community service. Only a few found their way into the economic life of the community, partly because of their lack of training, and partly because of the social pressures of husbands and community.

Every reader will recognize the inadequacies of this picture of the problem of women, but each will be able to sketch in the exceptions and fill in the details. If women are to be fully developed adults, they need to be assured of their status in society. They have a status as females, but while few wish to reject that entirely, not many are completely satisfied with it. Few sights are more tragic than the aging woman whose only claim to status has been her ability to attract men, and who clings desperately to the fading remnants of beauty. A social organization gives satisfactory status to women if it permits them to function both as women and as adults, doing their share in the processes of the culture, economic, social, and political. It is unsatisfactory if women must choose between the roles, or may choose both only at the cost of doing a double job. By opening a wide range of employment opportunities to women from 35 to 65 the war has, temporarily at least, alleviated the problem for many individuals. Whether the bars against older workers, and especially against older women, will be raised again after the war depends to a large extent upon the general economic situation of the country.

To what extent are women themselves being changed by the war? No generation of girls and women has ever been offered such a range of experiences, many of which involve the acceptance of disciplines, industrial, union, or military, that are new to them. Will they emerge from the experience more mature, more understanding, more sensitive to social responsibilities, or will the experiences have no effect or even a negative one? For more than a generation formal schooling has been open to women on the same terms as men; now the schools of experience are open wider than ever before. But like all education, what the students take away with them depends largely upon what they put into it.

To this observer the probable sum of all the factors seems to be this: The postwar period will find more women able to meet men on an equal footing because more women have shared a comparable range of adult experiences. Some fortunate individuals will be able to cling to higher executive positions than they would have reached without the war, and in so far as they make good there, the upward climb will be made easier for the next generation. There is likely to be a rather extensive residue of increased opportunities for women in many fields, and the wages of women in the typically women's fields may not be quite as bad in the future as they have been in the past.

However, the major problem of the role of women in American life has been postponed but not solved. Women need the opportunity to be useful, participating adult citizens, leading well-rounded lives. Most of them should have husbands and homes and children, both for the good of society and for their own well-being. But also for their own well-being and for the good of the husband and the children they need status in their own right. For some, that status is satisfactory within the old patterns, but for many others the old forms are not adequate. Must we depend on wars to give to millions of women an opportunity to play a satisfying role in our society? Or can business and communities and men and women work out a peacetime pattern that will enable women to have husbands and homes and children, and still participate in the business and political life of the community if they choose?

## CAREERS FOR WOMEN

Rosalind Cassidy

It is not easy to predict the postwar role of women in a world that must devote all of its energies to rebuilding what is left after the longest, most destructive, far-flung, and costly war of all history. It is not easy, first, because that role will vary in each country of the world. It is not easy because women's role will depend not only on the war's modifications of past concepts but on the successful solution of the problems of full production and employment. Further, it is clear that the careers open to women will depend upon the role defined for them not only in our country but in the other countries of this now "one world."

The role of women in Germany, that generation of young women who conformed to the patriotic demands of National Socialism by bearing children under the state plan, will be very different from that of the Russian woman who has taken her place among the national heroes as a defender of the gates of Stalingrad or as a sniper in the guerilla forces. The men and women of China even before the war had established a heritage for the Chinese girl students, who, along with the Chinese boys during the heartbreaking days of 1938 and 1939, trudged the long miles to re-establish their banished universities in the safety of the far interior. It is significant that Mei-ling Soong Chiang, a Chinese woman, in the memorable year of China's crucial need was acclaimed the greatest woman leader, not only in her own country but in the entire world.

None of the many "Mrs. Minivers" was invited to address the Congress of the United States, as did Madame Chiang in the spring of 1943; yet the steadfast and undramatic record of the women of Great Britain during World War II has already made implicit a change of status and a greater acceptance of women as responsible human beings free to express their aptitudes and interests where they may best do so.

No American woman, not even Eleanor Roosevelt, returning from hazardous journeys to England or Australia, has been invited to appear before the governing body of the United States of America. In the United States the war period has acclaimed no military or civilian heroes among its women; it noted only the martyred nurses of Bataan. It deplored, the while encouraging with jobs and overtime pay, the husky brawn of "Rosie, the welder" and especially her ill-fitting overalls, greasy blouse, and tin hat. It drafted its eighteen- and nineteen-year-old boys and called for more and more woman power. The dislocation of family and child life was met with Federal housing and child-care centers, but more and more women were called into the war-production program. It made women regular members of the Army, Navy, and Marines. It made them mechanics, air pilots, streetcar conductors, taxi drivers, railroad "men," night watchmen. Women with or without skill were wanted, needed, essential, and highly paid, and they liked it, and there is every reason to believe that they will continue to like it and demand it.

Granted that none of us now knows what conditions will prevail in our particular postwar United States and postwar world for either men or women, yet it is clear that some of the contours of this world are now dimly visible to most of us, some quite sharply defined to those who are dealing directly with both the economic and social problems before us now and those facing us in the job of world reconstruction. We know that the postwar role of women in our country and the areas of expression open to them will depend on their record of achievement during the war, their understanding of the postwar economic and social needs, their active planning along with men now for an acceptance of women as mature, responsible human beings, free to develop in whatever direction their abilities lead them, free along with men for humanistic and creative education leading to home and community participation and expression in life goals in their chosen, paid, or voluntary work. Therefore, in

order to see where we now are and where we are going, I have patterned my discussion around four questions:

Where are women now as a result of their part in the war?

What will be women's place in the postwar United States?

What career areas are we now sure will be open to women after the war?

What planning should women, along with men, be undertaking now in preparation for the postwar period?

To lend authority to my words I have turned to a number of statements to which full reference is given as an aid to those readers who wish to push the topic beyond this brief treatment. To three able women, whose point of view adds validity to this discussion, I particularly wish to give acknowledgment: Louise Stitt, Director of Minimum Wage, Women's Bureau, United States Department of Labor; Dr. Gertrude Laws, Director, Education for Women, Pasadena Public Schools; Anne G. Treadwell, Assistant to the Chief of the War Manpower Commission, San Francisco.

*Where are women now as a result of their part in the war?* It seems safe to state that no woman in the United States has been unaffected by this war. Those who have not moved out into paid or voluntary wartime occupations or given those close to them to military service have had the war come in to them through preparations for air raids, the discomforts of rationing, and in numberless other ways affecting daily living.

Since the beginning of our peacetime conscription of men and until very recently, the employment of women has not been discussed directly but by implication from the facts of demand for manpower in the fighting forces and in industry. Many women leaders in our country have continually called for a national registration and draft of women so that their part in the national defense would be as direct and clear-cut as that of men. This has not and very probably will not come in spite of President Roosevelt's call for a National Service Act in 1944. In any case, with or without such an

Act, the estimate is made that eighteen million women in the United States will be in wartime employment by July 1944.<sup>1</sup> And in this wartime employment there is every indication that women have delivered full measure in industry and in the military forces.

Furthermore, women have undoubtedly made a long-term contribution through their war service since their demands for safety, health, and rest provisions, long overdue for both men and women, will remain as gains after the war is over. Another significant contribution is the change in the attitude of employers toward the employment of women. All the cartoons and quips to the contrary, "Employers have discovered that women show more than average interest on the job and zeal in performing their tasks; they are dependable, stable, accurate, more attentive to detail than many men, and more proficient than men in some jobs."<sup>2</sup>

The chief economic and social results of the increased employment of women in industry are found by Miss Stitt to be: First, the economic results relating directly to production are stated as:

- Increase in production made possible by the addition of millions of women to the labor force

- Increase in production due to women's superior performance on certain jobs

- Re-engineering of jobs to adjust them to women's strength, resulting in labor-saving and fatigue-reducing devices for all workers

- Efficiency of women increased by carefully planned induction and counseling programs

- Development of vocational training techniques

- Furtherance of the principle that wage rates should be established for the job irrespective of sex or race

- Great increase in women's opportunity to contribute according to their abilities, made possible by the vastly extended scope of women's employment during the war

<sup>1</sup> See War Manpower Commission, "Women in the War-Time Labor Market," *Report and Analysis Service*, August 30, 1943. Also see Lucy Greenbaum, "As Kaiser Sees It," *The New York Times*, October 31, 1943.

<sup>2</sup> From a recent address given by Louise Stitt on "The Effect of the War on the Vocational Experience of Women."

Secondly, the social results indirectly related to production are:

Health services materially extended by industry during the war—physical examinations, nursing, medical and hospital services

Increase in accident-prevention programs

Installation of eating facilities and the providing of well-balanced meals in industrial plants

Improvement, possibly permanent, in the working conditions of service and domestic workers due to competition of war industries

And, finally, as additional social consequences she lists:

Greatly increased appreciation of the value and importance of women's services in the home

Development of child-care agencies

Increased appreciation on the part of married women of the problems of wage-earning men and the general broadening of women's horizons

Appreciation on the part of management and workers of the social advantages of the five-day week

Prejudice against the employment of women considerably reduced

Opportunity for Negro women to demonstrate their ability to fill successfully a great variety of jobs

*Increased desire for economic independence and improved living standards on the part of women*<sup>3</sup>

The record of achievement of American women in the armed services and in the voluntary and civilian defense services has an equally high accomplishment report. It is said that women in our country won the franchise on the basis of their fine record of work in World War I. This lends some encouragement to the high hopes women envision for their place in the postwar world<sup>4</sup>

However, one finds along with this growing participation of women, this increased proving of their abilities and skills, the persisting prejudices expressed in a contradictory Congress refusing to

<sup>3</sup> Louise Stett, *op cit*

<sup>4</sup> Margaret Calkin Banning, *Women for Defense* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, Inc., 1942), Mary V. Robinson, "Women Workers in the War," *Monthly Labor Review*, October 1943, Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, Eleanor Roosevelt, "American Women in the War," *The Reader's Digest*, October 31, 1943

permit the women serving in the Navy to go overseas while those in Army service are already in Algiers and Italy. There is the accusation that the influence of women caused the softening of the French nation. Witness the articles after the fall of France by Somerset Maugham and Roy Helton, who claimed that America had gone soft and weak because it too was woman-dominated.<sup>5</sup> Pearl Buck in her reference to America's "gunpowder" women makes explicit her claims that women do not have equality with men in the United States—that men do not really like women nor enjoy their company. Adams in his recent book, *The American*, discusses the historical reasons for this position of women in the United States, the separation of the sexes, and the aspects of "loneliness" in the relationship of husband and wife.

For example, the American has raised women to an almost impossible eminence. She has been an American Golden Calf. In no other country does she get her own way as she does in America. The man has played second-fiddle in the home and in social life, and given the woman the leadership, to a great extent in cultural life. He yields to her in an infinite variety of ways. Even when he likes to feel he is boss in the home (although he knows he is not), he lets his wife furnish it as she wishes, regardless of his own taste, while he hands out the checks as called for. He loves her after his fashion, is proud of her, wants her to be contented and also a symbol of his own standing and success. The two real cults in America are those of the flag and of the woman.<sup>6</sup>

The Russians have long been disdainful of our parasite class of women, claiming that no country can long prosper with a whole group who demand great luxury and give nothing in return to the

<sup>5</sup> Somerset Maugham, "Novelist's Flight from France," *The Saturday Evening Post*, March 22, 1941; Roy Helton, "The Inner Threat Our Own Softness," *Harper's Magazine*, September 1940; Pearl S. Buck, *Of Men and Women* (New York: The John Day Company, 1941); Margaret Mead, *And Keep Your Powder Dry* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1943); Rosalind Cassidy, "Women's Education in a World at War: Ends and Means," *Progressive Education*, November 1941; Catherine Glover, "Women as Manpower," *Survey Graphic*, March 1943.

<sup>6</sup> James Truslow Adams, *The American* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943), pp. 372-373.



social process, who even refuse to bear children into this favored economic class. American men and women together should weigh the values of keeping women in a slave caste against the values and the vigorous demands made upon mature, responsible, free human beings.

There is another factor growing up between men and women as a result of the war which has dangerous possibilities of increasing after the war; that is a new antagonism between men and women, a jealousy in relation to jobs and the achievement on the job. Many believe that this resentment will grow with the replacement of women by men; women who now know they are as good or better on the job in many cases will not give over these interests and income without a feeling of unfair discrimination.

In relation to post-war employment of women there will undoubtedly be a good deal of tension if not actual conflict. Here, too, women have an opportunity to invent or discover decent civilized ways of resolving conflicts and of bringing about an adjustment which is based upon fair, impartial consideration of the relationship between the job to be done and the person who does it, rather than upon sex considerations.<sup>7</sup>

Perhaps Thurber's devastating cartoons of the war between men and women should be looked upon as an alarming statement of this social problem in our time rather than laughingly dismissed as a comic joke.<sup>8</sup> Note the many cartoons centered on the inadequacies of women in contrast to the superiority of men as significant, since in a nation's humor lies an important key to its social standards and beliefs.

So much for the first question. *Let us now turn to the kind of post-war America and world in which we are apt to find ourselves in the next five or ten years.*

<sup>7</sup> From a statement sent to the author by Gertrude Laws, Director of Education for Women, Pasadena Public Schools.

<sup>8</sup> James Thurber, *Thurber's Men, Women and Dogs* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943).

The one obvious fact still not realized by many people nor the implications fully seen by those who accept the reality is that we are living now and forever after, due to the development of air transport, in a closely interdependent world. This is both a thrilling and terrifying fact, with extensive implications for economic and social life, for education, industry, in fact, for every aspect of human living.

We know that the United States is committed, no matter what political changes may come about, to an expanding program of social security. In the immediate postwar world this will extend to relief and feeding on a world scale. In our country it will mean job security and assurance of food and shelter for the men, women, and children of the United States.<sup>9</sup>

Already underway and planned to extend over a period of years is the program for the rehabilitation of the men who have suffered injury in the battles of this war.

We know that there are already devised and ready for postwar manufacture numberless products growing out of the developments in the physical and biological sciences and tested by exacting combat use.

As this article is being written, the Baruch report on postwar adjustment policies has just been released to the press. What its fate will be we do not know now. The basic question upon which so much depends for the destinies of men and women in our country is whether we can organize our full peacetime economy and production as successfully as we have organized for a total wartime investment. Hansen states:

For some time after the war there will be an excess of demand over supply for certain durable goods. In addition, there are at least three other areas in which the effective demand will be great. Inventories all around will be low, and there will be a tremendous demand, for some time, to build up these inventories. Exports—especially of agricultural products—can be relied on to remain at very high levels in view of the European

<sup>9</sup> Points stressed in an address given at Mills College, "Post-War Planning Begins Today," by Anne G. Treadwell, War Manpower Commission, San Francisco.

relief requirements. Finally, in many lines, including transportation and manufacturing industries, there will be a large demand for equipment. There will also be an extensive demand for construction. . . .<sup>20</sup>

He further predicts that after the war we will gradually move forward toward a high-consumption economy with emphasis on appropriate leisure and on cultural and recreational activities. It is essential that our increasing productivity shall permit us to progress toward an economy that lays relatively less stress on "brick and mortar" and places more emphasis on educational, cultural, recreational, and service activities, including public health, social security, and public welfare programs."

In the conversion period following the declaration of peace and perhaps for an extended period thereafter even if general unemployment is avoided, many women will withdraw from employment volutarily; many will be dismissed. Louise Stitt states this concerning women in the professions:

Women with professional training and experience have had unusual opportunities during the war for employment in their chosen fields. If emphasis in the post-war period is to be placed on the providing and consuming of services, the demand for professionally trained workers should continue. The extent to which women will be employed in the professions in the future will depend to a considerable degree on the satisfaction which they have given during the war period. It is safe to predict that many women who have performed with outstanding success will be retained in spite of male competition. The success of such women will increase the opportunities for employment of others."

With these visible contours of the postwar world before us, let us ask the third question: *What career areas are we now sure will be open to women after the war?*

<sup>20</sup> Alvin H. Hansen, "Wanted Ten Million Jobs," *The Atlantic Monthly*, September 1943, p. 65; Elinore M. Herrick, "What About Women After the War?" *The New York Times Magazine*, September 5, 1943, "A Survey of Baruch's Proposals," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 19, 1944.

<sup>21</sup> Alvin H. Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 68

<sup>22</sup> Louise Stitt, *op. cit.*

If the world is now and forever after to be an interdependent unit, and if transportation is to be greatly facilitated, there are probably new and important careers for women to be devised in the area of human relationships through exchange posts in other countries and conferences and forums with our world neighbors in education, public health, child care, and the arts. Certainly this reality means that in all career areas languages, history of cultures, anthropology, and social psychology must play a much greater part. Basic English and a poorly remembered American and English history will not be enough. There will be careers for women in the field of adult education, now moving toward a predicted development never before dreamed of in our country.

It is clear, then, that if we live now and are to continue to live in an interdependent world, all people must be educated in the understandings and skills which make men more able to behave in cooperative ways. All teachers and social workers must be skilled in such understandings and competences. All adults, all parents must be helped through adult education to grow in such beliefs and behaviors, so that they who have not been so educated may grow in the ways demanded by today's world. The imperative fact of "co-operate or perish" demonstrated so clearly in a wartime operation like the landing of American forces in Africa in November, 1942, must remain an imperative in war and peace education, in civilian action and in peacetime economic and social planning.<sup>18</sup>

The need for developing the skills of responsible, cooperative behavior will have its impact on education and on the recreational and group-work fields in which women will continue to find rewarding expression. This should be a challenging field for creative thinking toward new patterns in recreation growing out of war experiences and war needs. Lindeman has stated that a new creative pattern in this area must be devised to allow those to relax who have been through the war's untold tensions and destructive experiences.

This indication of woman's contribution in the area of human

<sup>18</sup> Bernice Baxter and Rosalind Cassidy, *Group Experience—the Democratic Way* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943), pp. 151-152.

relations seems to emphasize the fact that the greatest career for women in the postwar world remains that of homemaker, responsible for the bearing of healthy, able children educated by her into the beliefs and skills of cooperative responsible behavior.

Careers in the out-of-home care and education of young children, in social work, in nursing, and public health will be further developed and extended in new ways with growing demands for human services.

Careers in the work of veterans' rehabilitation, centering around psychology, psychiatry, occupational and physical therapy, social work, and administration, will open opportunities to many women.

Stitt states that in war industries which now employ women engineers, physicists, chemists, and laboratory technicians, such as aircraft, ordnance, shipbuilding, scientific instruments, explosives, parachutes, even though the activities of these industries will be materially reduced after the war, more professional women doubtless will be employed by them in the postwar period than were employed before the war.

She states that the industries that may continue after the war to offer positions to women engineers, physicists, chemists, and laboratory technicians are: paper and pulp (chemists, testers, research helpers); oil refineries (chemists to develop new products); food plants (testing chemists and nutritionists experimenting with dehydration and nutritive values); drug companies (research workers in biological laboratories); rubber plants (chemists in the further development of synthetic rubber); and the like.

One of the industries that probably will increase after the war is in the area of construction. Women will find the professions of architecture, landscape gardening, interior decorating, housing administration open to them.

Jobs in industry requiring college but not scientific training which may or may not remain open to women after the war are in the field of personnel and employee relations positions and professional work

in the service fields. There should be opportunities for women in occupations relating to health such as: medical research, industrial hygiene, sanitation work, infection control, dental hygiene, physiotherapy aides. Women should be needed in the psychological services such as: industrial psychiatry serving in the selection, classification, and placement of workers, in devising and giving aptitude and performance tests, and in job analysis. Psychologists will be needed in the re-education and readjustment of wounded soldiers in general, vocational rehabilitation, and in vocational rehabilitation and occupational guidance. Certainly the field of child-care services will expand further for women, demanding persons trained in nursery-kindergarten education, child psychology, physical and mental hygiene, parent education, nutrition, recreation, social service. In the field of nutrition there will be need for research in group feeding, feeding in industrial plants, commercial experiments to determine nutritive value of foods, services to housewives by private and public community agencies, and nutrition in the postwar reconstruction program in foreign service. This is a field in which women already have established leadership.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, what planning should women now, along with understanding men, be undertaking in the preparation for the postwar period ahead? Women in labor and industry and various professional associations of university women should now be planning along with the men's groups for postwar full employment. They should be the ones responsible for understanding and interpreting women's needs as partners in the solution of our social problems.

Opportunities properly carry responsibilities with them. Women have an opportunity at the present time that has never been available to them before to participate in forming public policies, and in the discovery or invention of appropriate ways to carry policies into effect. Women must preserve the distinguishing excellencies of their own ways of living instead of taking on the ways of men. Only by doing so will the quality

<sup>14</sup> Louise Stitt, *op cit* Also see Institute of Women's Professional Relations, Connecticut College, New Haven, Conn., *War and Post-War Demands for Trained Personnel*, 1943

of life be enriched by the participation of women in the solution of the complex problems that must be solved. Each woman has a special obligation to see that her total program of action reflects credit not only upon herself but also contributes to general confidence in the value of the thinking of women in large affairs as well as in the details of domestic life. There is real adventure in the creation and maintenance of a better life for all people.<sup>15</sup>

Since more women than ever before have shared in the work experiences of men, this may be the crucial and strategic moment for an establishment of comradeship and a recognition of the woman as an equal human being with the right to work out the best contribution she can make to our society in the way uniquely hers. Women should be planning and working in the areas of human relationships, and their work must be valiant and thorough or their values will again be destroyed in another and more horrible world conflict. Women should be active in the field of education, not only in the areas of democratic principles and skills in cooperative responsibility but in the education of men and women for each other so that they may plan out a peaceful world together.

happiness for men and women is in the greatest freedom for both that is consistent with equal opportunity. Freedom without opportunity is meaningless

Free men and free women, working on equal terms together in all the processes of life—and what is this but democracy? For in our preoccupation with nations and peoples and races, let us remember again that there is a division still more basic than these in human society. It is the division of humanity into men and women. Men and women against each other, destroy all other unity in life. But when they are for each other, when they work together, the fundamental harmony exists, the foundation upon which may be built all that they desire.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Gertrude Laws, *op cit*

<sup>16</sup> Pearl S. Buck, *Of Men and Women* (New York: John Day Company, 1941), pp. 202-203

## WOMEN IN MEDICINE

Zuleika Yarrell

The First World War did much to advance women in medicine and we will find that the Second World War will have done much more. At present a woman who wishes to enter medicine is accepted in open competition with men in all but a few medical colleges. After completion of her medical training she is able to obtain an internship in most hospitals. Due to the present war women internes are sought even in hospitals which formerly would not accept them. Because of the unusual war conditions women have an ideal opportunity to prove their ability. The progress of women in medicine has always been gradual as it has been in the other professions which have always been thought of as being limited to men; however, unlike the other professions, the scientific advances in medicine produced by the war will offer almost limitless possibilities for doctors in the postwar world. Because of this advancement women as well as men will be materially benefited.

There has been some discussion about the reasons so few women have received commissions in the armed services. It is worth noting that it was not until April 1943 that the Sparkman-Johnson Bill, which enabled women to apply for commissions, was passed by Congress. It was some months later before the eligibility requirements and the opportunities available were outlined. However, the opportunities for women in the armed services are still not on an equal basis with men; for example, it is not permitted for women in the Navy to have overseas duty. Had the status of women been the same as men at the time war was declared there is no doubt but that many women would be found in active service now. But because the status was not the same at the onset of war, during the two years we have been at war women have entered essential civilian services which they are reluctant to leave for the limited opportunities the armed services still offer.



The field of medicine in the postwar world will afford new openings for the woman physician and the possibilities for advancement will depend upon her interest and potentialities. There will be little if any feelings in most communities against the woman in private practice. Except for one or two of the specialties the woman physician will find the same acceptance by the community as her male colleague. To counterbalance these situations there are such specialties as pediatrics and gynecology where the woman will have an added advantage.

Women have had good opportunities in medical institutions, business institutions, and the public and private schools, and will continue to have the same and, it is hoped, even better openings after the war. In institutions in which the personnel is determined by civil service women physicians have for some time been on equal footing with men.

Industrial plants, which during the war have employed women workers, have employed women physicians for their health and personnel services. After the war many of these plants will change their employment policies and employ only men. It is quite likely that the health and personnel services will revert to a male physician. However, if women are fully accepted in the armed services during this war period, we may look forward to the same acceptance in industry after the war.

A great field for women in medicine in the postwar world will be in public health in its various aspects. Women have already established themselves in this branch of medicine and when plans for postwar rehabilitation and reconstruction are studied the enormity of the public-health responsibility in the future leaves no doubt of the limitless opportunities for medicine.

There has been a recognized acceptance of maternal and child health services in the past few years, but we are made painfully aware of the inadequacy of this program by the reports of the Medical Division of the Selective Service. These reports show that a great

number of men are rejected from the armed services because of defects due to poor care in infancy and childhood. With the great advances being made by war medicine it is hoped that after the war more emphasis will be placed on prevention of both mental and physical ills than has been emphasized in the past.

Women have made a place for themselves in the research fields in most of the sciences. Research in medical fields both now and particularly in the postwar world reveals wide horizons for future study. When the vast experiments and findings of the Army are made available to the general public, medical research will be further stimulated and there will be a demand for trained personnel. Women have shown particular aptitude for research work and will continue to make advances. In the postwar world much can be gained in time and knowledge if there is some form of international cooperation in research problems. Such cooperation will of course depend on the peace terms and the participation of both major and minor nations and can only be a subject for speculation at this time.

Much of our understanding and treatment of mental illness dates from the First World War. Our understanding of the relationship between the early life patterns of the individual and his reaction to the war situation dates from researches done in connection with psychiatric casualties of the last war. Further advances have been made in this present war. The need for psychiatric understanding and treatment can be realized when it is recalled that a great percentage of men are rejected because of psychiatric problems. Also many men are being discharged from the armed services both before and after combat because of mental conditions which make them unfit for duty. Although many of these men are being cared for in veterans' hospitals many are also in the community and are treated in civil hospitals or by civilian doctors. In the hospitals and in private practice the women psychiatrists have the same opportunities as men.

There has been much written about the treatment of psychiatric casualties near the scene of battle. This is immediate treatment and

has proved effective in a much larger percentage of cases than treatment given after casualties are removed from the front line to a base hospital. In those cases requiring prolonged treatment far from the battlefield, the practising physician will frequently be called upon to provide this treatment.

It is already evident that there will not be enough well-trained psychiatrists available in the next few years to treat the number of people individually who need therapy. It has been demonstrated by work already done that treatment can be successful in selected groups. Group therapy has been used in treatment of children, adolescents, and adults with success and promises a means of treating a large number of people for whom psychiatry would otherwise not be available. Some work has already been started with selected groups of war casualties.

Like public health, mental hygiene finds its place in the postwar plans for rehabilitation. The mental-hygiene movement was started in 1909 by Clifford Beers and has been growing rapidly since then. The war has demonstrated the present need and inadequacy of this service and the postwar period will show an even greater future need for it. There will be much need for mental-hygiene work both in this country and in Europe at the end of the war. The Army is recognizing the importance of mental-hygiene clinics and has established them in training centers. Many problems of the soldier can be discussed and treated there resulting in adjustments being made which would enable the soldier to continue in the line of duty. So successful have these clinics been that many soldiers have avoided serious breakdowns.

The field of psychosomatic medicine which has recently come into prominence offers great opportunities for study of the relationship between physical and mental symptomatology and it is through this approach to illness that the individual as a whole can best be studied and treated. The psychosomatic problems in this war are so numerous that it has been referred to as a psychosomatic war. It is to

be hoped that this means of therapy will bridge the gap between medical and psychiatric practice and that it will give the medical practitioner an understanding of the importance of the emotional component of illness. Armed with this understanding the physician can treat many patients without the necessity of referring them to a trained psychiatrist.

Many articles have been written suggesting a means of making adequate medical care available to more people. Under our present economic system good medical care has been available to the economically fortunate and to the indigent. Various health and insurance plans have been established which give to the middle income group limited medical service. Many of these plans have proved successful but reach only a small proportion of the people for whom they were intended. Some of these plans have been worked out by industry and others by business organizations, fraternal orders, and trade unions. The United States Public Health Survey of 1935 showed very clearly the lack of medical facilities for a large part of the population. Because of this survey and other studies and the problems involved among the returning men of the armed services, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill was drawn up and is now before Congress. This bill has under consideration health programs, health insurance, and other welfare projects which it is hoped may make medical facilities available to all income groups. The medical profession as a whole has come out strongly against this bill because it is felt that passage of it will result in what they term "State" or "socialized medicine." The main criticisms of this bill have been that it invests too much power in the Surgeon General and that it takes away the right of the individual to choose his own doctor. The medical profession feels that medical groups or community enterprises can meet medical needs and that it is not necessary to have Federal legislation of such sweeping scope.

Great Britain several years ago legislated for health insurances. This legislation was fought bitterly by the medical profession. After

the bill was passed and put into practice the medical profession acknowledged its advantages, both because the physician practising in a poor community was guaranteed a livelihood, and also because general medicine as well as the specialties were available to more people. As a result of this program the general health level of the British people has improved. The British law, however, is more flexible than the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill and is considered a better constructed piece of legislation.

In summary, it can be said that the position of women in medicine in the postwar world will be a secure one. There is a great future for them in private practice, in institutions, in public health, in mental hygiene, and in research. There is an established need for general legislation or an over-all plan that will make medical facilities available to the great group of people who are now without them. There the role of the woman physician need be no different from that of her male colleague.

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## WOMEN IN LAW

Florence E. Allen

The outlook for women lawyers in the United States after the war is ended will depend upon two factors. The first is the extent to which the legal profession may have been partly eliminated by the onslaught of the administrative process. For instance, a distinguished professor of the Harvard Law School has lately expressed the view that the administrative process may displace contract law in general. If the field of contract law is eliminated, a number of lawyers who make their living out of contracts will also be eliminated. It is not my function to advocate any particular solution of this problem. I refer those who are interested to recent discussions by Roscoe Pound, Dean Emeritus of the Harvard Law School, and Dean Landis, of the Harvard Law School. Obviously, however, if the development of the administrative function makes great inroads on the practice of law, women lawyers will be affected just as men.

The second element is more evident and possibly no less threatening. It arises out of the postwar economic situation. If an acute depression follows the conclusion of hostilities, the women lawyers will inevitably lose ground. If it is a time of great business activity and prosperity growing out of the demand after the war for all of the industrial products which America can so efficiently supply, the woman lawyer will tend to hold her own.

Around 1930 there were some one thousand women practising law in the United States. In 1940 there were 4,187 women practising law, and if the census were taken today, a still more marked increase would be shown. In the law schools, where the classes are sadly depleted by the induction of men into the armed forces, women today at times predominate, and they are entering the law schools in ever greater numbers.

Some of the younger women now practising have had the advantage of securing positions in offices which never before were open to

women. This is true in New York and in New England, where women have formerly found it difficult to secure office positions. They have been enabled to enter well-established firms with large practices. A number of these women have attained positions in the various governmental legal staffs, and have rendered an excellent account of themselves not only in the Bureau of Internal Revenue, but in the newer bureaus like the National Labor Relations Board. In recent years women have also been appointed assistant county prosecutors or assistant district attorneys. The election of women to legal office, prosecutor, and judge in various State courts, municipal, probate, and courts of general jurisdiction, seems not to have been particularly extended, although a number of women judges have won repeated terms by re-election.

The women who do legal work in the governmental bureaus have had a fascinating service. In some instances they entered the administrative staff when the bureaus were in the formative stage and have not only witnessed but have taken part in the shaping of policies. They have lived in Washington during the thrilling although hysterical period of the war effort, and are storing up unforgettable experience. If the good times continue their good luck will continue; but if a bread line forms and 1932 repeats itself in ways probably even more drastic, some of these women unfortunately will feel the axe. They will face the natural and legitimate determination of the community to return to his place in the peacetime world every qualified man who has taken an active part in the fighting and on the battle fronts. After the First World War this determination manifested itself in certain legislative enactments designed to advance in civil-service requirements any World War veteran. Many women, some of them lawyers, lost economic ground because of this feeling in the years from 1918 on.

The present war is more far-flung than the last, involving literally the entire world. The repercussions will be infinitely greater than they were after the First World War, if panic follows the conclusion

of peace. Over three times the number of men are now attached to the armed forces than were so attached in 1918. The competition for jobs in the event of a depression will be that much keener. If the financial situation is catastrophic, Government appropriations in the various bureaus may be cut and vast numbers of Federal jobs may be eliminated. In any case, the pressure upon Government will be so great that some women will inevitably be cut off. Sad to say, some of these women with Government experience will go out into private practice with only a specialized experience and, except in unusual cases, in the midst of depression will be unable to build up a circle of clients to cushion their fall. Their intelligence and devotion will not protect them.

There will be very little safety for professional women after the war in case of financial collapse, except in the possession of their own circle of patronage. Some clients of the woman lawyer, some patients of the woman doctor, will fall away in depression times, but if the lawyer or doctor has been capable, not all patronage will be lost. The woman who by hard work, business judgment, and integrity has built herself a bulwark of friendship and confidence—if she is a woman to whom the community looks for professional help—will have built her house upon the rock. When the floods descend and the storm beats upon her house, it will stand.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Educational Psychology*, by ARTHUR I. GATES, ARTHUR T. JERSILD, T. R. McCONNELL, and ROBERT C. CHALLMAN. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942, 805 pages.

This textbook is a complete revision and rewriting of Gates's *Psychology for Students of Education*, which appeared more than a decade ago. The present volume is especially planned to be of usefulness to students of education and members of the teaching profession. It presents a wealth of material. The data are based on numerous scientific studies in the field. The table of contents includes: understanding of child development and of learning processes; methods of guiding and stimulating learning and development, analysis and measurement of intelligence; aptitudes; abilities and disabilities; and standards and safeguards of mental health.

The volume is authoritative in that it is written by leaders in the field. Although four authors have contributed, it is an unusually well-integrated volume.

*Manual for Analyzing and Selecting Textbooks*, by JOHN ADDISON CLEMENT. Champaign, Illinois: The Garrard Press, 1942, 119 pages.

This is a work that is functional or nothing. It makes no attempt to improve either the soul or society. Instead it offers a blueprint, a formula, indeed a definite score sheet by which textbooks may be appraised and compared as a basis for adoption. No claims for objectivity are made: the plan depends on the subjective judgments of the adoption committee, but the distinctive value of the manual lies in the provision of bases of comparability. When one thinks of the hasty decisions which have gone into textbook adoption in some cases, of the laborious arguments through which committees have dragged, in others, if one credits even a modicum of the stories which have been told of the less respectable means by which publishers' salesmen have secured city and State adoptions, this reviewer can only conclude with a sincere hope that this manual and its score-sheet technique will be widely received and used.

*The Modern High School Curriculum*, by PAUL E. and NATALIA M. BELTING. Champaign, Illinois: The Garrard Press, 1942, 276 pages.

It is a little difficult to determine what audience the authors of this book had in mind. Except for an introductory chapter dealing in a rather superficial way with underlying principles, and a final chapter labeled *summary and integration*, the organization of the book follows strict departmentalized or subject-field lines. The teacher or professor of a special methods class would find four fifths of the material of only academic interest, while the teacher of general methods would not find enough concern for general principles to make the book useful. The curriculum specialist might be interested in it as a sample of typical thinking and would note the advances which had been made in accepting and applying psychological advances; at the same time, he would mark with dismay evidences of internal contradictions, such as the theoretical distrust of memorized generalizations, in one place, with the recommendation of a course in world history in another. Withal, the book is practical, is amply supplied with illustrative specific material, gathered wholly from Illinois schools, and may have a useful place on the reference shelf.

*Evaluating Rural Housing*, by CHARLES I. MOSIER. Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida, 1942, 88 pages.

This pamphlet may best be described as a detailed note on statistical method as applied to sociological research. It is an interesting and valuable venture and will be appreciated by sociologists interested in statistical techniques. The author has attempted to give precision to the concept of housing adequacy by the use of a lengthy questionnaire covering both the physical structure of the house and the attitudes of the occupants on adequacy. Care was taken to ensure maximum objectivity and elaborate techniques were employed to render the results meaningful. Advanced students with a knowledge of statistics will benefit by this study.

*Mental Hygiene in Home and School Life*, by LESTER D. and ALICE CROW. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1942, 457 pages.

The authors of this very readable text have presented a practical and challenging consideration of the principles of hygienic life adjustment

for those responsible for the education and guidance of young people. It is a manual for teachers who believe that the learner's social adjustment is the first important purpose of education. Emphasis is placed on normal, rather than abnormal, patterns of behavior.

The approach is different from that common to most texts in the field in that it offers a unified treatment of the average person's daily experiences in the process of his personality adjustments.

Since personality develops through the interaction of the social forces at work in a democracy, the authors hold that the integration of the individual's personality becomes a social responsibility. Society can progress toward desirable goals only when its members learn to work in harmony rather than to capitalize on the weaknesses of other individuals within the group. Thus the existing culture pattern is advanced and greater opportunities are made available for use in an improved society.

Questions of curriculum, administration, guidance, and supervision are sharply defined in this book. Well-chosen illustrations clarify problems which have long been controversial.

Here is a text dealing with the fundamentals of the profession.

*As the Twig Is Bent*, by RICHARD WELLING. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942, xiv + 295 pages.

This is the autobiography of Richard Welling, veteran reformer and founder of the National Self Government Committee. It tells the life story of a man thoroughly persuaded of the importance of the democratic way of life who has long been convinced that education in a democracy should be directed toward bending the twig of youth in the direction of democratic participation in public affairs. The autobiography takes the form of the chatty memoirs of an alert octogenarian.

*Terminology and Definitions of Speech Defects*, by MARDEL OGILVIE. Teachers College, Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 859. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1942, 300 pages.

As there are now approximately seven hundred terms to indicate speech defects, and not all of these terms are available in any one compilation, this volume fills a marked need. In it the author has attempted to clarify all the complicated terminology of speech defects. She has used

medical, psychological, and educational literature as sources of terms. Her findings are summarized in a systematic way in which symptomatology and etiology are indicated in each defect. This compilation, which contains an excellent bibliography, is more elaborate than any of which this reviewer knows. It should prove of great value, not only to speech teachers, but also to doctors, psychologists, and others interested in the technical and sometimes confusing terminology of speech defects.

*The Psychology of Persuasive Speech*, by ROBERT T. OLIVER. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1942, 389 pages.

This volume, as its title implies, deals with the psychology of speech in situations where persuasive speech is needed. The book deals especially with self-interest and social consciousness as basic factors to be considered in situations such as addressing an audience, conducting a debate, taking part in a discussion, conversing with friends or prospective customers. The author presents his material convincingly and with a number of practical suggestions. The book has an excellent bibliography.

*Do You Know Labor?* by JAMES MYERS. New York: The John Day Company, 1942, xiii + 240 pages.

This little book, written especially for the layman, is an excellent guide to the understanding of labor relations. The author is industrial secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Previous to this position he has served as personnel director in a factory. With this background he brings to this revision of his earlier work a vast amount of data and a depth of understanding that is a refreshing contrast to the howling propaganda of the modern press. Educators should be particularly interested in the emphasis which the author places upon the long road that labor has traveled, and the need of further education of the rank and file to make themselves not only good members of unions, but good citizens as well. His book is informative, enlightening, and wholesome. It is a healthy antidote to the labor-baiting and labor-agitating crowds, both of whom constitute a constant menace to democracy.

*The Torch of Freedom*, edited by EMIL LUDVIG and HENRY B. KRANZ. New York: Farrar and Rhinehart, Inc., 1943, 426 pages.

Here is a book with an unusual idea: the tremendous impact of exile upon the lives of men who refused to let an adverse fact defeat them. The

editors have selected twenty exiles of history, and the biographical sketch of each has been written in every instance by an author of recognized literary ability, wherever possible a compatriot of the figure delineated.

The editors point out in the preface that not every exile is worthy of inclusion, no matter how important he was to his time. Only those who continued to fight for freedom after they were driven from their native land were selected, and it is interesting to note how these authors are able to build the theme that the adversity of exile can be a cause for growth.

Obviously, when twenty authors make a book, the quality is apt to be very uneven, that is the case with this one. It is further a little unfortunate that they chose to arrange the biographical sketches in an order dictated by the chronology of the lives of the men selected. Thus, the initial chapter deals with Ovid, and Lion Feuchtwanger's best efforts are not enough to make this a strong chapter. In this reviewer's opinion, the treatments of Kossuth by Hans Habe, Carl Schurz by Ludvig, and Sun Yat-Sen by Kranz are the best of the lot.

*The Discipline of Practical Judgment in a Democratic Society*, Yearbook Number XXVIII, National Society of College Teachers of Education, 1942. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942.

The authors believe educators and other leaders of society, who must make practical judgments, have no adequate rationale, no method (such as the scientist and the technologist can resort to) for assured effectiveness "Practical judgments" (as contrasted with those of pure or theoretical science) are involved whenever a decision is made, a policy formed, or a basic norm of conduct formulated. The authors endeavor to show how to decide on the right ends, to interpret the facts correctly, and to fuse the ideal and facts in practice, but do not claim to have perfected the method. They are largely influenced by Dewey but are not mere disciples.

*The Function of a University in a Modern Community*. Foreword by A. L. GOODHART. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell, 1943, 57 pages. (Agent for the United States: William Salloch, 334 East 17th Street, New York 3, N. Y.)

This pamphlet reproduces the addresses given at a conference of the Association of University Professors and Lecturers of the Allied Coun-

tries held at the Royal Institution, London, on April 10, 1943. The conference was concerned with two subjects: the function of a university in a modern community, and methods of practical cooperation between allied universities in the future.

Many of the speakers emphasized the great importance of the future social role of the university, both in preparing useful members for the national life, and in acting as an interpreter of the social life and needs of the nation. There was considerable discussion of the relation between the state and the universities, particularly in relation to the matter of academic freedom. The necessity for international intellectual cooperation was stressed by many of the speakers. An international education office was recommended as a means of furthering intellectual cooperation. International exchange of teachers and scholars was recommended to take place on a scale never before approximated.

*Current American Government*, by L. VAUGHAN HOWARD and HUGH A. BONE. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943, 357 pages.

This book gives an excellent, detailed account of the functioning of American government in the present war. All the multitudinous governmental boards, bureaus, agencies, and offices for dealing with the complicated management of total war are described. Some are traced from their inception in the last World War. Careful consideration is given the relationship of the various basic components of wartime government to each other—civil and military, federal and local, presidency and legislature.

The book is scholarly, factual, objective. It is not intended as a text for a general course in government, but only as a supplement dealing solely with the war.

*Reading Spanish. A Graded Reader for Beginners*, by CORA CARROLL SCANLON and GEORGE E. VANDER BEKE. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1943, vi + 432 pages.

This reading book in Spanish is designed for students who have completed ten weeks of Spanish grammar. The two stories comprising the volume—*Amalia* by José Marmol and *José* by Armando Palacio Valdes



—have been carefully graded in accordance with the latest findings of the American and Canadian Committees on Modern Languages of the Council on Modern Languages.

*Foremanship Training*, compiled and edited by RICHARD B. STARR  
New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1943, viii + 191 pages.

Manpower is, without a doubt, the principal factor upon which war production in American industry depends today. And in the integration of men, machines, and materials, it is the supervisor who is the keyman. It is the responsibility of the foreman to see that the plans of management are carried out, and that the workers under his direction actually make the products or their component parts. It is the supervisor, or foreman, who actually gets the work done.

The vast expansion of industrial activity has resulted in the creation of thousands of new foremen and millions of new leadmen. The demands of the armed services have transferred many experienced supervisors and skilled workers from the factories to the fighting fronts. In the present volume, *Foremanship Training*, Captain Starr has compiled a series of conferences on some of the most pressing problems that confront the foreman. The men who prepared the material for the book were all members of the original instructional force which, under the Engineering Defense Training Program, began in 1940 to prepare Chicago industries for war production. The book will be extremely valuable for foremen and for vocational industrial educators.

*The Uses of Reason*, by ARTHUR E. MURPHY. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943, vii + 346 pages.

A study of the uses of reason, particularly in moral and social life. Reason is our count of final appeal not on a metaphysical but on a human basis. Reason, in experience, is able to discriminate between claims that are just and reasonable, and those that are not, and there is no hope for such discrimination on any other basis. Rational inquiry gains its authority through evidence acquired in experience and verified in open application. Irrational philosophy demands that its own present view be accepted as final without further examination in the broad daylight of human judgment. Nazism is a notable example, but irrationalism is observable in the writings of men like Sorokin and, ironically, in those of

Monsignor Sheen who make a fetish of "reason" itself. Murphy defends these views through both philosophical and practical analyses.

*A First Course in Education*, by WARD G. REEDER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943 (revised; first edition, 1937), ix + 656 pages.

Part I: a sketch of landmarks proving America's historic faith in education, followed by a discussion (admittedly colored by the views of the author's colleague at Ohio State, Boyd Bode) of the philosophy and aims of democracy's schools. Part II: organization and administration, policies, parts of the school system, school plants, costs and means of support. Part III: the pupils and the educative process, including individual differences, learning and teaching methods, guidance, classification, health. Part IV the materials of instruction (curricular, extracurricular, textbook, library) Part V: education as a profession (opportunities, requirements, in-service education, public relations, ethics). Part VI methods of studying educational problems.

*The Making of Modern Britain*, by JOHN BARTLET BREBNER and ALLAN NEVINS. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1943, 243 pages.

Out of the war and the prospects of peace has come a need to understand better and to develop a sympathy for our allies, particularly Great Britain. This short history of England is a contribution to that purpose, admittedly so. The first of its ten chapters is written by Nevins, the others by Brebner. If the reader can only skip the first chapter, or somehow survive it, he will find this a readable, balanced book. That first chapter, however, is such insipid "goo"—such a panegyric extolling all of the virtues of the British, that one could not be blamed for abandoning the book after the first ten pages.

Chapters II to X, by Brebner, present a survey of British history in chronological arrangement, his care to present failures and shortcomings along with achievements serves to justify the term "history" for the book, and this reader finished it with no loss of his appreciation of the inherent quality of the British people.

If it is desirable to develop in Americans an increased appreciation of

Great Britain, and books form one of the channels for this accomplishment; this book makes its contribution to that purpose, but when will we see American history, particularly of the period 1763-1865, rewritten and reinterpreted?

*Postwar Economic Problems*, edited by SEYMOUR E. HARRIS. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1943, 417 pages.

This challenging volume presents the points of view of twenty-three capable individuals, each a specialist in his field, relative to some of the most pressing of the many economic problems that our society must face in the postwar period. The subjects covered are grouped under the following heads: The Issue of Full Employment, The State of Capitalism, Statistical Information and Economic Policy, Fiscal and Related Problems, Labor and Social Security, Agriculture and Related Problems, International Economic Relations, and Postwar Controls. The editor of the volume, Seymour E. Harris, was at the time the volume was published on leave from Harvard University, and serving as Director of Office of Export-Import Price Control, OPA.

This book will not make pleasant reading for many readers. But the authors probably did not anticipate that it would. For example, the authors are not disturbed over a prospective continued rise in the public debt, even after the end of the war. They brand as alarmists those who now cry "wolf" at the prospect of a public debt of 200 billion dollars. It is their contention that we should assess the rising public debt in terms of the economy which must support it. They insist that we must make our plans in terms of an ever increasing national income. They propose that within the next half dozen years we may witness many national incomes of not much less than 120 billion dollars annually. Their formula for producing and maintaining such a national income is "stimulative deficit spending."

The author of the chapter on Postwar Public Debt indulged in a gross understatement when he wrote. "It may be a shock to many to learn that a public debt of \$4,000 billion *may* be carried by the economy without a collapse of the capitalist system, a repudiation of the debt, or a great inflation." This reviewer does not hesitate to say that it *is* a shock to him. To the writer of the chapter, however, it is all most simple and even reasonable. He assumes a national income of 200 billion dollars in 50 to 60 years plus 80 billion dollars of interest on a public debt of 4,000 billion

dollars at a rate of interest of 2 per cent. He says: "These are not unreasonable assumptions." The total tax bill would then come to 80 billion dollars plus an estimated 35 billion dollars for nondebt purposes. But, he argues, since 80 billion dollars will be for servicing of debt, the real burden is considerably less than is indicated by that figure. It works out for him so that we would actually have 170 billion dollars of income free of public charges. He adds: "We may even be so optimistic as to suggest that the accumulation of debt may contribute to the attainment of the high income assumed in this discussion."

Like this book or not, agree with it or not, there is in it much that must challenge the reader. In the main, the problems dealt with are those that we as American citizens must face. In the chapter on Price Control After the War, there appears this significant statement: "A system of private enterprise is *economically* preferable to one of public ownership only if over the years it produces more for less... Yet, a combination of private 'ownership' with a public control so pervasive that the key elements in business decisions are in public rather than private hands may well create a situation in which we have the evils of both systems with the advantages of neither."

Perhaps the principal impact of this book on this reviewer was in the form of a conviction that we, the American people, need to be much more literate, economically, socially, and politically, than we are if we are to solve successfully our problems of postwar adjustment.

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## EDITORIAL

It is with sincere regret that the editors were forced to postpone the scheduled issue on the movie; Army censorship, however, takes time, and the first object of the Army must be to win the war and only secondarily to reflect on the educational value of parts of its program. The movie issue will be among the first of the fall numbers of *THE JOURNAL*.

Fortunately we had a reservoir of good articles which were very deserving of publication from which to build this general issue. Dean Payne "lifts the sights" of educators beyond the minutiae of detail and wrangle over whether the 100 best books are adequate to the more social objectives of education. The researches presented in the other articles make *their contributions both to theory and to method*. They tell an encouraging story—namely, that in spite of the war and all its distractions, we are unrelenting in our search for a more adequate approach to education.

DAN W. DODSON

## POSTWAR EDUCATION

E. George Payne

In the midst of the struggle to win the most devastating war that civilization has witnessed, and one that will test the courage, the wisdom, and the capacity of the democratic forces of the world, we have tended to forget, or at least neglect, an equally vital consideration as that of winning the war itself; that is, planning and preparing for the postwar world. We have come to feel that such planning and preparation are necessary but we have been slow in beginning to organize the social forces essential to the solution of postwar problems. Furthermore, in so far as we have given consideration to the problems of the world after the war, it has been directed mainly toward the discussion and planning in the political and economic fields and little attention has been given to education.

From the character and amount of emphasis in the discussion of the situation which will face us at the close of the war, it would appear that our leaders regard education as a force that will play a minor role in the postwar world. The assumption basic to this discussion is that education will be the most primary or fundamental factor and the most significant force in determining the character and effectiveness of democracy and the social order in the future society. The further assumption is that unless we utilize education in its fullest measure to equip the population of the disorganized and distracted world at the end of the war to meet and solve the problems it will face, the total struggle will have been in vain; the cause of democracy and civilization for which we have fought will be eternally lost.

The matter of central concern, therefore, is whether we have the potential educational leadership to serve education in its vital and essential task. My purpose in this presentation is to examine some of the factors basic to the task of education, and indicate some of the important elements in the program of education in the postwar world.

Any understanding of the work of education depends upon an adequate conception of a number of other problems that the world, and particularly the United States, will face in their most serious form the moment hostility ceases and peace comes; the moment, in other words, when we have completely overcome and destroyed our Axis enemies.

Among these problems are those of full employment, social security, ability to finance education after ensuring full employment and social security, and the organization of the world to avoid such future conflicts as those we are now experiencing. Attention must be given to some of these problems before we can consider intelligently the nature of the postwar educational program.

One of the most encouraging results of the prewar depression period and the experience of employment during the war is complete agreement among industrial and commercial leaders, educators, economists, labor leaders, and politicians that unemployment is a disease that attacks power-age mass production society, and that this disease must be cured in order that society may persevere. *There must be no unemployment except among the old, the sick, the incapacitated, those required to shift from one job to another, and other cases of forced inactivity.*

What does this full employment mean in transferring from the present war emergency to peacetime employment? An analysis of the data, and there is general agreement on this analysis, indicates that on demobilization day there will be about sixty-five million persons engaged in productive labor, and the shift from war to peace will involve thirty million. Even when we retain five million in the armed services, five million in the production of materials to restore the destroyed world, and five million withdraw from the labor market, the lowest estimate is that fifteen million laborers will have to be transferred to peacetime industry. I cannot enter into a discussion of how this vast horde of laborers is to be taken care of, except to indicate that the solution of the problem involves

education and the sort of program essential in the future society. We are not concerned in this discussion with the problem of post-war employment except in so far as it will determine the amount and character of education possible and necessary for the youth of the coming generation.

Before seeking to indicate the effect of this labor supply upon the educational program, however, I wish to say something about the problem of financing unemployment and an expanded educational program. It seems anomalous that we should have to enter a world war to have full employment and relative prosperity. A lobsterman friend of mine in Maine was complaining that for the first time in his life his family had all the money they needed and nothing for which to spend it. In 1934, at the depth of the peacetime depression, we had 40 billion dollars of national income. In 1944, ten years later, in the midst of war, the national income will climb to approximately 180 billion dollars, with twice as much spent for consumers' goods as was spent in 1934. We are, therefore, as a nation better clothed, fed, and sheltered than we were in the peacetime depression years in spite of the universal grouching about points and priorities. Obviously, 150 billion dollars of income in consumers' goods would provide all our people in peacetime with all the necessities required and all the luxuries they could reasonably use. In the face of these statistics we can say merely that our problem is one of the intelligent use of our productive capacity, and we can have all the employment, all the education, all the cultural products we can reasonably use or need. The leadership developed during the depression and the war can, I believe, be used in the solution of these financial and production problems.

With the facts outlined above in mind, we are ready to examine the educational situation of the postwar world. A large part of this released and unemployed labor at the end of the war will be the adolescents between sixteen and twenty-one to twenty-five years of age, and the most vital educational problem of the future society will be the education of youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty-



five What about youth of this age, and what are the obligations of society to it? This is a period of important physical growth. It is a period in which youth must acquire and begin to exercise his capacities as an adult citizen in the community. It is a period that must not be sacrificed to production or to support of family. It is a period in the life of youth that must be used for the development of its full potentialities for effective production and for the social life as a citizen of a democracy; it is the period of education par excellence and nothing should be allowed to interfere with that purpose. There is no wish to imply in this statement that the labor of youth must not be productive. We do mean to say that all the activity of youth during the growth period must contribute to the mental and physical development of the individual. In so far as the activities of youth can also be socially productive, it is all to the good.

In the past history of the country, the period of adolescence, extending approximately from the age of sixteen to the end of the growth period, has been the most neglected period in the life of the individual; a period in which the individual is held as legally immature, without full right of citizenship, but held responsible for his acts as a full citizen. From the sociological point of view, adolescence may be defined as the transition period in the life of a person which occurs between childhood and adulthood. The period represents the change from the dependence of the child upon his parents, relatives, teachers, and other adults to the independence of the matured individual who is capable of organizing his life for himself according to his own scheme of things and the dictates of the social situation. Adolescence represents the most important stage in the development of the human personality since its successful culmination determines the future social adjustment and success or failure of the person. In most cases, it is a period of stress and strain because of certain necessary uprootings of old relationships, of disillusionment in regard to childish misconceptions, of learning to face realities, and of the development of new habits and attitudes.

Furthermore, because of the complexity of the adjustment neces-

sary and because of the inadequacy of the childish experiences of the individual, adolescence is the most potent influence in the whole life of the individual in determining his future contributions to citizenship in a democracy. It is, moreover, because of the neglect of this period, the time for the development of juvenile delinquency, of crime and the numerous other forms of maladjustment in the social life. It is the period in which education not only has its greatest potentialities for good or ill but is absolutely necessary in order to make the adjustment of youth to the exigencies of adult life. It is the time in the life of the individual that cannot be left to accident or chance. It is, therefore, a period that must be devoted to the complete development of adolescent capacities for the fullest exercise of the duties and responsibilities of adult life.

Now let us look at what we have done for youth of this age in the past. We have provided some sort of education for approximately ten per cent of this age group. The other ninety per cent has been left alone to make its own adjustment as best it could. These young people have sought jobs in commerce, industry, and various other types of activities for which they are totally unfitted, or have remained unemployed, seeking jobs and acquiring habits and attitudes which for the most part unfit them for a constructive role in the social life. Youth of this age have formed "gangs" and other antisocial groups and thus provided the atmosphere and environment for the development of the character of the underworld. This age is the breeding period for the development of the ills that have beset our democracy simply because this age group has been neglected at a crucial stage. In fact, only those of this age who by good fortune are members of families who are situated financially so that they can spare the earning capacity of the adolescent and pay the considerable cost of an education can participate in the sort of education available.

And this education has been, in general, an abstract curriculum consisting primarily of the mastery of books. Moreover, the selec-

tion of those who are to participate in this curriculum has been made, for the most part, on the basis of ability to pay and not on the ability to profit by the tuition. There is no wish to minimize the importance of books nor to indicate that they are unimportant as instruments of education. They record the culture of the ages and are indispensable to education and civilization, but as exclusive instruments of education they are futile.

By way of parenthesis, however, I should like to say that it has always seemed absurd to me that educators should assume that the only kind of education necessary for the complex tasks of life is equipment in the ability to acquire information from books. We are supposed to spend eight, twelve, or sixteen years in learning from the printed page and then are expected to go out into the world and be able to meet every situation that arises. Unquestionably, there is too much and too exclusive emphasis placed upon books in the education of the ten per cent of youth whose education we have been concerned with in the past. The neglected ninety per cent of youth cannot be interested in an exclusively book study curriculum. Of course there are exceptions to exclusive book study emphasis in the case of professional and vocational schools such as schools of engineering, medicine, education, etc., but they are exceptions. The statement as a whole remains true.

In contrast with the conception and practice of the prewar world, the postwar world will demand that an education be provided for every boy and girl during the entire growth period, one hundred per cent instead of ten per cent; an education that is adapted to their needs and capacities. The ability to pay for an education will be no criterion for the selection of those to be trained, but instead the welfare of society shall be the determining factor. Every individual will have the opportunity of developing to the fullest his potentialities, and his full growth period will be utilized for that purpose. Every individual will be permitted to have the kind of education that his nature and capacity require. Every individual will have

brought to him every aid in equipping him for an essential role in the social life. He will not be left to acquire capacities for the social life after his formal education is complete. The preparation of such a program and curriculum is the essential task that educators must face immediately in preparation for the day of demobilization.

The question that arises in every one's mind is naturally, "Is America, with the leadership developed during the war, ready to deal with and solve the problems resulting from such revolutionary changes in education and social processes as are implied in this description of the postwar education?" I think so. The America of tomorrow will be tougher and more realistic. During the war years it has gradually returned to some of its earlier virtues; that is, to its earlier concepts and practices of self-denial and self-sacrifice, of faith and charity. For one thing, by the end of the war it will have fully recognized that this country cannot live a life of luxury, isolation, and indifference while peoples in other parts of the world are struggling against economic insufficiency and social chaos. What is even much more important for us in America, the public and its leadership will have recognized, if they have not already done so, is that inequality of opportunity within our own borders cannot exist without recurrence of depressions and consequent unemployment that will make the continuance of democracy impossible. We have already determined that we shall tolerate no longer a situation in which one third of 130 million souls are inadequately fed, clothed, and sheltered. I believe, also, that we have concluded that every one is entitled to the best education he can take.

To this point in the discussion we have presented what is relatively obvious to every student of the social life and education, and have not attempted to answer the most pertinent question; namely, what will be the nature of the educational program for youth in the postwar world as a result of the revolutionary changes indicated? We have to admit that we have no blueprint for such a program, and also that no one else has. Furthermore, the preparation of

such a blueprint is the challenge to the educational leaders of today.

There are, however, some specific things that we can say about the character of the program, things essential to a realistic solution of the problem of the education of youth.

First, the program will require a combination of work and study that will give reality to both work experience and study experience. The school characteristic of today that attempts to provide all the experiences of life will cease to exist and youth will acquire his education and experience in actual life situations and from organized study that will give meaning to these life experiences. In such a program, the community, with its industry and commerce, with its governmental functions and its civic responsibilities will become a laboratory in which youth, through study and activity, will learn to live and work, to receive and give, to serve and be served for the welfare of the whole. No one now can picture in detail just exactly how such a school will be constructed; no one can say just how much of the experience should come from the activity and how much from study, but the general nature of the school can be visioned. The development of the postwar educational program will be progressively realized through research and experimentation and over a long period of time.

Second, one year or more, to be determined by the needs of the light of experience in the new educational program, will consist of communal living where youth will learn to live together and solve common problems. The Civilian Conservation Corps of the prewar depression period has given us some valuable experience. However, this work year will have an educational and not an employment purpose. Youth must have such a year to learn to live together, to sacrifice for the common good, to give and to take, to achieve and fail; in a word, to learn to solve as a group or community the common problems of life. It is highly important that this year, as some have already proposed, be not one of exclusively military service. We must see to it that education be not exclusively controlled with

reference to military services. The program must also prepare for the activities of a peaceful world.

Third, the essential characteristic of the postwar educational program for youth will be cooperation; cooperation among educators, industry, commerce, labor, and other agencies of the community; and if this is achieved it will be one of the most significant achievements possible in meeting educational needs. If such cooperation is effected, it will give vocational orientation to the thousands of boys and girls who have hitherto gone through high school and college without knowing what they were going to do after they completed their schooling. It will give systematically coordinated instruction in principles and practice. It will achieve that unity of theory and practice which has been sought, and in some degree achieved, at such institutions as Antioch, Berea, the University of Cincinnati School of Engineering under Dean Schneider, and Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes.

The cooperation proposed in the new education, however, must go much further than it has gone in any of these institutions because it will require that industry and commerce open their doors to youth so that it may acquire in actual life situations that experience necessary for its development as a part of the educational program. It will require the cooperation of union labor in permitting youth to work in trades and industry along with union members and learn from them and the industrial processes themselves the practical activities essential to the education of youth in the arts of life. It will require that all permit the expert to study at firsthand the total industrial, labor, and learning process for the purpose of cutting out waste and providing labor-saving machinery, and also to guarantee to youth the most valuable experience as a contribution to his total education. This program will, therefore, require a new type of cooperation not hitherto undertaken by labor, employers, or educators. I am convinced that such cooperation is not only possible but will be achieved under the leadership available; leadership developed in the crucible of a world struggle

I hope that it is clear that it has not been my purpose to condemn wholesale all the educational effort of the past. As a matter of fact, much of the education will continue somewhat along the line of the past, with its purposes, processes, and methods modified in the light of the world situation and current needs. All education will certainly give greater emphasis to experience as a part of the education of youth. No longer will any one attempt to justify an educational program on the ground that it disciplines the mind; nor will any one contend that mental discipline is the end of education and that mental discipline is achieved through the study of subjects that can have no practical significance.

This, however, will not be the major achievement of the postwar education. The major achievement will be the education of neglected youth, youth for which no provision has been made in the past. Moreover, for this group there will be, as already indicated, the type of education that will develop completely the potentialities of all youth for its largest contribution to the commonweal.

Our problem, moreover, cannot be conceived as narrowly national in its scope, for after this world holocaust America, which has been somewhat outside of the area of the destruction of civilian life and property, will have to assume a leadership not exercised by other countries. Our aid has been sought by many of the United Nations already, and the United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction has been for several years now studying this problem and developing a program of aid to our suffering world. Under the preparation and leadership of a subcommittee, with Dr. Stephen Duggan as its Chairman, we have already undertaken a program of education of leaders in agriculture, commerce, medicine, social service, and education in this country for service abroad after the war. These persons to be trained are being recruited from the exiles of the conquered nations. It is, therefore, highly important that we proceed with the development of the reconstruction program in this country so that we may offer the greatest possible leadership and help in the reconstruction of education throughout the world.

Finally, this achievement is possible only if you and others in situations like yours throughout the land rise to the demands of the time and display the necessary vision and intelligence to create a program of theory and practice essential to the complex task of educational reconstruction in the postwar world.

## THE VALUE OF HIGH-SCHOOL SCHOLARSHIP ON THE LABOR MARKET

Bryce Ryan and Robert K. Merton

For many years intermittent attention has been given the problem of scholarship in its relation to economic adjustment. Pavan, Wright, Rouse, Buell, Leech, and Harshman have each shown with varying degrees of determinacy the positive economic advantages of scholarship in high school.<sup>1</sup> Shannon, Clem and Dodge, and Dearborn and Rothney either deny, or decisively qualify, the view that school marks are associated with occupational success.<sup>2</sup>

Examination of a large sample does not confirm the hypothesis that there is a consistent relationship between high-school grades and immediate postschool occupational achievements. Variations in these relationships do not permit an unequivocal summary con-

<sup>1</sup> Ann Pavan, "A Follow-up Study of Philadelphia Public School Graduates," *Occupations—The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, 1937, pp. 252-259.

Barbara H. Wright, "A Follow-up of 1934 Graduates," *Occupations*, October 1936.

Edward S. Rouse, "Does School Record Foretell Business Success?" *Business Education*, December 1931.

Irwin Buell, "Early Vocational Careers of High School Pupils after Completing their Formal Education," *The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, March 1925, pp. 187-192.

Don R. Leech, "Does School Success Spell Life Success?" *The American School Board Journal*, February 1931, p. 36.

H. L. Harshman, Reported in *The New York Times*, February 16, 1941, p. D7.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Shannon, "The Post-School Careers of High School Leaders and High School Scholars," *School Review*, November 1929, pp. 656-665.

O. M. Clem and S. B. Dodge, "The Relations of High School Leadership and Scholarship to Post High School Success," *Peabody Journal of Education*, May 1935, pp. 320-321.

Dearborn and Rothney, *Scholastic, Economic and Social Backgrounds of Unemployed Youth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938).



clusion of the significance of school performance for immediate postschool vocational achievements. The academic records and employment history during *the first year after graduation* for approximately 20,000 Boston, Massachusetts, high-school graduates constitute our basic materials.<sup>3</sup> A one-year period is not, of course, sufficient to test "occupational success", our findings pertain only to the primary adjustment of graduates to the economic world.

The mean numerical equivalents of marks for each student serve as a crude measure of academic performance.<sup>4</sup> The averages of marks obtained in the entire high-school record have been divided into six groups; rank one representing superior high-school work, and rank six the lowest grade of performance permitting graduation. Summarily stated, ranks one and two represent high-school work averaging A and A-, respectively; ranks three and four, B and B-, ranks five and six, C and C-. The latter is the lowest passing mark in the Boston high schools.

#### Employment, Unemployment, and Educational Continuation

*Boys.* There is no doubt but that fewer boys with high scholastic averages sought work in the year following graduation than did those with low scholarship. Thus we find that more than one half of the A and A- (ranks one and two) graduates continued their education, thus not "entering" the labor market, in contrast to a little over one third of the C- (rank six) graduates. The difference in these proportions may not be as great as some educators might

<sup>3</sup> This number represents more than two thirds of the students graduating from 14 Boston high schools in even-numbered years from 1916 for boys and 1920 for girls to 1934. The High School of Practical Arts (girls) and Public Latin (boys) and girls' Latin Schools (purely college preparatory) were excluded. The cooperation of Miss Susan Ginn, Director of the Bureau of Vocational Guidance, is gratefully acknowledged, as is the financial assistance granted by the National Youth Administration and the Harvard Committee on Research in the Social Sciences.

<sup>4</sup> In view of the debatable comparability of marks assigned by teachers during the eighteen-year period included in this survey, it is apparent that only gross differences can be considered. For more refined procedures, not applicable to our materials, see Dearborn and Rothney, *op cit*, p. 34.

wish, but it is evident that there was enough selectivity to throw greater numbers of the mediocre and inferior directly upon the labor market. Since more average and inferior students had less easy access to this exit from the labor market it is understandable that more of them would be idle.<sup>8</sup>

TABLE I  
PERCENTAGES OF MALE GRADUATES OF SIX SCHOLARSHIP GROUPS  
EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED, AND CONTINUING EDUCATION  
1916-1934

<i>Scholarship Rank</i>	<i>Number of Cases</i>	<i>Per Cent Employed</i>	<i>Per Cent Unemployed</i>	<i>Per Cent Continued Education</i>
One	321	43.3	5.0	51.7
Two	694	41.5	7.3	51.2
Three	1,877	49.5	10.3	40.2
Four	3,230	48.9	12.6	38.5
Five	2,410	48.5	11.7	39.8
Six	184	52.7	12.0	35.3
All groups	8,716	48.2	11.2	40.6

However, when unemployment is measured only among those entering the labor market, *i.e.*, excluding continuants, there is still some indication that the superior boys were less frequently without work (table 2). There is no indication, however, that the inferior students were in a worse position than the "average." The definition of "unemployment" used in these comparisons, however, considers persons working as much as two weeks of the year "employed." It is necessary to refine this conception by studying the comparative duration of work for students working two weeks or more.

Table 3 shows that except for the A students the attainment of continuous employment throughout the year was negatively associated with scholarship among boys. There are successive increases in

<sup>8</sup> Failure to recognize this fact has led to many fallacious conclusions in follow-up studies. Such crude statements of unemployment can be patently misleading unless qualified.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE UNEMPLOYED OF MALE GRADUATES OF SIX SCHOLARSHIP GROUPS  
AVAILABLE FOR WORK, 1916-1934

	<i>Scholarship Rank</i>						<i>All Groups</i>
	<i>One</i>	<i>Two</i>	<i>Three</i>	<i>Four</i>	<i>Five</i>	<i>Six</i>	
Total number	115	339	1,123	1,986	1,451	119	5,173
Per cent unemployed	10.3	15.0	17.2	20.6	19.5	18.5	18.8

the percentages working the full year with each decline in scholarship from group two to group six. However, among those employed graduates working only part of the year there is a scant relationship between marks and mean duration of employment. While the tendency is to the disadvantage of inferior students, the maximum difference is less than two weeks, except for the relatively small group six.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF MALE GRADUATES OF SIX SCHOLARSHIP GROUPS WORKING  
OVER ELEVEN MONTHS, AND MEAN DURATION OF EMPLOYMENT FOR  
THOSE WORKING ELEVEN MONTHS OR LESS, 1916-1934

<i>Scholarship</i>	<i>Number of Cases</i>	<i>Per Cent Employed Over 11 Months</i>	<i>Mean Duration in Months</i>
One	115	43.4	6.2
Two	224	40.0	6.1
Three	782	42.8	6.2
Four	1,246	44.1	5.8
Five	898	47.7	5.8
Six	62	50.0	5.1
All groups	3,347	44.7	5.9

It is evident that our measures of employment do not offer a basis for belief in either the advantage or disadvantage of high scholarship among boys so far as duration of employment within the first year after graduation is concerned. Although fewer of the average and inferior students found employment, more of those who

worked at all had employment throughout the year. It should of course be recognized that we have no data on possible differences in types of jobs.

There is even less evidence of a positive relationship between marks and tangible employment advantage when we consider the average salaries paid the male graduates (table 4). To the contrary it appears that the very poor students surpassed the A. The striking feature of the relationship, however, is that *both superior and inferior scholars surpassed the average.*

TABLE 4  
MEAN WEEKLY SALARIES PAID EMPLOYED MALE GRADUATES  
OF SIX SCHOLARSHIP GROUPS, 1916-1934

<i>Scholarship</i>	<i>Number of Cases</i>	<i>Mean Salary</i>	
One	125	15.14	} 14.88
Two	267	14.75	
Three	847	14.27	} 14.44
Four	1,381	14.54	
Five	993	15.03	} 15.07
Six	84	15.54	
All groups	3,967	14.61	
		F = 2.67*	

\* Indicates significant variation. For method followed in analysis of variance see George W. Snedecor, *Statistical Methods*, revised, 1938.

Since it is apparent that the small extreme groups indicate the greatest differences, let us reduce the influence of extreme cases by analyzing the difference among superior, average, and inferior graduates. This procedure tends to minimize variations but permits the evaluation of comparative salaries in terms of the actual marks used in the high-school system. Table 5 showing the results of the "t" test indicates that a significant salary difference does not exist between superior and inferior students, nor between superior and average. However, the salary advantage of the inferior over the average is highly significant (statistically speaking). While of

nonsignificant character, it should be recognized that superior scholars, as well as inferior, surpassed the average group.\*

TABLE 5

SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE IN MEAN WEEKLY SALARIES  
PAID BOYS IN THREE SCHOLARSHIP GROUPS\*

	<i>Mean Difference</i>	<i>Std Error of M D</i>	<i>"t" ratio</i>
Superior—average	.44	.292	1.486
Inferior—average	.63	.197	3.198†
Superior—inferior	.19	.291	.609

\* For method see George Snedecor, *Statistical Methods*, op cit

† Difference is highly significant

Of course, the sixty-three cents per week advantage of the inferior over the average means little in terms of economic well-being; it is well to remember that we are dealing here with "significance" purely in a statistical and predictive sense which does not mean that the difference is important from the standpoint of comparative income.

*Girls.* Among girls the relationship of marks to employment advantage is unmistakably positive in each of our measures.

It is evident from table 6 that idleness in the year following graduation increased greatly with lowering marks. However, it should also be clear that, except for the lowest, the proportion of girls seeking employment was greatest in the low scholarship groups. Thus nearly 47 per cent of the A students continued their education whereas only 34 per cent of the C— did so. (It should be noted that no general positive relationship between marks and educational continuation exists.) It appears that the low scholarship groups actually had greater difficulty in securing some employment (at least 2 weeks' work during the year), quite apart from

\* Although there is insufficient space to present data for the individual even-numbered years 1916 through 1934, it should be noted that in not one year did the average scholars have the highest mean salary, and only in 1934 did they fail to have the lowest. There is no consistency in the frequency with which the superior or the inferior groups surpassed one another, and differences between the two were usually very slight.

the fact that fewer deferred entrance into the labor market by continuation. When unemployment is measured only among those seeking work, *i.e.*, excluding graduates who continued their education, there is a marked increase in unemployment with lowering scholastic average.

Not only did high scholarship among girls indicate an advantage in securing any work, it was also associated with longer duration of employment for those not working the entire year. The high scholarship graduates (ranks 1 and 2) had larger proportions continuously employed than did other groups. There is no indication that average scholars had any advantage over inferior in the matter of continuous employment. However, for those girls not working continuously, the average duration of employment declined with each successive drop in scholastic status. Coupled with the preceding data these differences are sufficiently large to warrant the general conclusion that the extent of employment among girls is positively associated with scholarship.

Also unlike the tendencies displayed among boys, the mean weekly salaries paid girls hold definite positive relationship to marks (table 9). Almost without exception there are successive in-

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE GRADUATES OF SIX SCHOLARSHIP GROUPS  
EMPLOYED, UNEMPLOYED, AND CONTINUING EDUCATION, 1920-1934

<i>Scholarship Rank</i>	<i>Number of Cases</i>	<i>Per Cent Employed</i>	<i>Per Cent Unemployed</i>	<i>Per Cent Continued Education</i>
One	637	47.8	5.3	46.9
Two	1,610	50.3	7.6	42.1
Three	3,264	53.0	11.8	35.2
Four	4,112	51.2	16.1	32.7
Five	1,657	50.4	15.6	34.0
Six	111	36.9	19.8	43.3
All groups	11,391	51.2	13.0	35.8

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE UNEMPLOYED OF FEMALE GRADUATES OF SIX SCHOLARSHIP GROUPS  
AVAILABLE FOR WORK 1920-1934

	<i>Scholarship Ranks</i>						<i>All Groups</i>
	<i>One</i>	<i>Two</i>	<i>Three</i>	<i>Four</i>	<i>Five</i>	<i>Six</i>	
Number of cases	338	932	2,116	2,768	1,094	63	7,311
Per cent unemployed	10.0	13.0	18.1	24.0	23.6	34.9	23.4

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGES OF FEMALE GRADUATES OF SIX SCHOLARSHIP GROUPS  
WORKING OVER ELEVEN MONTHS, AND MEAN DURATION OF EMPLOYMENT FOR  
THOSE WORKING ELEVEN MONTHS OR LESS, 1920-1934

<i>Scholarship</i>	<i>Number of Cases</i>	<i>Per Cent Employed Over 11 Months</i>	<i>Mean Duration in Months</i>
One	254	43.6	7.3
Two	698	40.5	6.5
Three	1,410	33.6	6.0
Four	1,743	29.9	5.9
Five	660	30.9	5.6
Six	32	31.4	5.3
All groups	4,797	33.4	6.0

TABLE 9

MEAN WEEKLY SALARIES PAID EMPLOYED FEMALE GRADUATES  
OF SIX SCHOLARSHIP GROUPS, 1920-1934

<i>Scholarship</i>	<i>Number of Cases</i>	<i>Mean Salary</i>
One	304	14.28
Two	773	13.33
Three	1,670	13.34
Four	2,013	13.05
Five	821	12.95
Six	41	11.77
All groups	5,622	13.21
		F = 14.03*

\* Variance is highly significant

creases in mean salary with each rise in scholastic achievement. Except for the extreme groups, however, these differences are quite small in a monetary sense. However, even when the influence of the extremes is minimized by combining scholarship ranks into three major categories, superior, average, and inferior, significant differences appear. The salaries paid superior girls were significantly above those paid either average or inferior, and the average group was significantly above the inferior. While the monetary differences may not be economically important, it is evident that some positive predictive value can be attached to girls' scholarship.<sup>7</sup>

TABLE 10

SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE IN MEAN WEEKLY SALARIES PAID  
GIRLS IN THREE SCHOLARSHIP GROUPS

	<i>Mean Difference</i>	<i>Std Error of M.D</i>	<i>"t" ratio</i>
Superior—average	.42	.1073	3.91*
Inferior—average	.27	.1172	2.30†
Superior—inferior	.69	.1417	4.87*

\* Difference is highly significant.

† Difference is significant

## Conclusions

The most striking feature of these data has been the difference between girls and boys in the association of scholarship with employment advantage. Unfortunately any interpretation of these results must rest upon inference rather than upon statistically substantiated deductions.

One factor of probable importance lies in curriculum differences between the sexes. The great majority of girls seeking employment were graduated in the commercial curriculum while relatively few of the boys had taken vocationally preparative courses of study.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> In each of the individual years studied, except 1934, superior girls made the highest mean salary and inferior girls the lowest

<sup>8</sup> Bryce Ryan, "Boston High School Graduates in Prosperity and Depression" Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy thesis, Harvard University, 1940



Thus there is some justification for believing that the girls were more frequently working in occupations for which they were at least partially trained. Hence, there was undoubtedly a closer similarity than for boys in the factors evaluated by teachers in terms of marks, and by employers in terms of employment and salary.

It would be futile to attach too much faith to this single and simple explanation of a positive association of scholarship and employment. Undoubtedly there are many factors that would work toward a positive relationship. It is possible that the mere fact of having a favorable school record is of some value in the acquisition of employment. It is also true that scholarship is usually associated positively with intelligence, persistence, and other traits deemed desirable by employers.<sup>9</sup>

Giving some weight to the curricular difference of boys and girls, it is quite reasonable to expect a less pronounced association of scholarship and economic advantage among boys. But this does not conform completely to the facts, for we have noted that inferior male scholars made higher salaries and had continuous employment more frequently than the average. It is possible that the inferior male scholars tended toward lower status jobs at relatively high pay, but of this we have no direct evidence. Surely the data on duration of employment indicates no greater tendency toward casual work. In the present state of knowledge it is as reasonable to suggest that their position comparable with the superior may result from positive employment characteristics uniquely associated with low scholarship among boys. This is not entirely unreasonable when we remember that low scholarship is a product of many fac-

<sup>9</sup> The degree to which scholarship and intelligence are correlated tends to be popularly exaggerated. Rector found a correlation of .28 in "A Study in the Prediction of High School Success," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. 16, pp. 28-37, Burget from .20 to .55 in "The Relation of School Marks to Intelligence in Secondary Schools," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol. XIX, pp. 606-614; Lisc, .28 in "A Study of Mental Tests as Criteria for Predicting Scholastic Success in College," Master of Arts thesis, Iowa State College, 1924, Smolar, "correlation non-significant" in "Prognostic Value in High School Success of the Ous Intelligence and the Standard Achievement Tests," Master of Arts thesis, College of the City of New York, 1931. These conclusions are typical of results in many series of data.

tors among which may be part-time employment . . . and part-time experience is an important factor in job acquisition." Correlations between marks and intelligence are usually sufficiently low to permit no presupposition that these boys were significantly less intelligent than the superior scholars. The more likely fact is that they lacked persistence and inclination in academic fields, for which they may have compensated by developing along lines more favorable to job applicants on the high-school graduate level. That is, some activities negatively defined by the school may actually have positive influence in the economic world. This does not preclude nor imply the presence of status differences in the employment found by superior and inferior scholars." This, like many of the questions posed by our data, can be answered only by further research.

## THE EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE OF DETROIT MEXICANS

Norman Daymond Humphrey

Judged by American standards, the amount of formal education possessed by the immigrant Detroit Mexican is abysmally small. In Mexico itself any widespread rural school system until recently was notable by its absence. Peon education of any sort was meager. Most schools in Mexico were provided and supervised by the Catholic Church, with some subsidization by the government. The further fact that what education existed in rural sections was possessed more by women than by men is attributable to an economic situation, common to the agricultural scene the world over, in which

<sup>20</sup> Dearborn and Rothney, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-108

<sup>21</sup> Wright, for example, in "A Follow-up of 1934 Graduates," *Occupations*, October 1936, concluded that the clerks tend to be recruited from higher scholastic groups and their helpers from lower ones. However, Wright's data also show that the high-grade scholars were less likely to enter sales work. In addition the whole problem is complicated by the selective effects of educational continuation.

young boys could be of economic value as laborers in the fields, whereas girls would have less of this sort of value.<sup>1</sup> There are very few Mexicans in Detroit who have had the equivalent of an elementary-school education, and fewer still with any secondary schooling.<sup>2</sup> Complete illiteracy is quite common.

The extreme lack of education is evidenced by a situation in which some Mexicans who speak Spanish, essentially a *phonetically* written language, never learn to read that language. A mere knowledge of the alphabet would provide a reading ability for the more common spoken words. Yet Detroit Mexicans feel a need for literacy in Spanish, and since they fear that their children will be educated only in English, they sporadically attempt to educate themselves and their offspring in Spanish.<sup>3</sup> Educational programs for the improvement of Spanish have been frequently undertaken, but ordinarily lack of financial support cut them short.<sup>4</sup> Adults in the colony continue to feel the need for a more effective knowledge of the mother tongue both for themselves and for their children.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is seen in the following randomly extracted case excerpts

Mr L has no education and cannot read or write Mrs L went to school about one year in Mexico She reads and writes Spanish but does not read English (11-22-33)

Mr M attended school one year in Mexico and Mrs M went to the third grade.

Mr P went to the second grade in Mexico and Mrs P went to the third grade

<sup>2</sup> The mean (if a statistical procedure were attempted on such variable and unverifiable data) for Mexicans of the peon class in Detroit would be something like four years of formal schooling for men, and perhaps five years for women, but the median would lie at a lower point.

<sup>3</sup> This was well evidenced at a meeting of colony leaders at the Merrill-Palmer School in January 1938, when in addition to other points much discussion hinged on teaching children correct Spanish

<sup>4</sup> A former teacher, Ignacio Vasquez, for a decade attempted to promote and maintain a school for adults in Detroit. He had devised a method whereby he could teach illiterate Mexicans to read and write in Spanish within a period of three months. He opened a school for that purpose in Dearborn in 1930, which, after some success, became defunct. Thereafter on several occasions he has conducted classes at the Sociedad de San Jose Hall, at Bagley and 19th, but in each instance after an auspicious start, the classes have ceased, through decline in membership (Conversations with Vasquez and *Prensa Libre*, II, Detroit, November 15, 1930)

<sup>5</sup> Mrs G, for example, said that her two boys forget to speak Spanish, using it less and less since they often bring home non-Mexican boy friends. This occasionally irritates the grandmother who feels that they should retain Spanish, at least within the family circle (Interview material.)

Literate individuals show a desire to maintain and improve their Spanish,<sup>6</sup> and clubs have functioned toward this ostensible end.

The Sociedad de Obreros Unidos attempted to perform an educational task by conducting a language class for its members. After several preliminary meetings a conflict of interests developed between the older and the younger members of the society. The older members wanted to learn correct Spanish whereas the younger members were opposed to this and wished only to be taught correct English. The final result was that the society taught neither.<sup>7</sup>

Formal education in American schools, a primary means for the inculcating of new meanings, is not readily accepted by Mexicans. This results from several situational factors. Among these are the previously noted lack of peasant education in Mexico; the generally unfavorable attitudes of Mexicans toward naturalization to which education would give an immediate impetus; and strong feelings of inadequacy toward the task of a late acquisition of education.

All of these factors make for repeated quick beginnings, and equally sudden endings, of educational ventures within the colony, as well as in efforts toward English training through the social-work agencies and the night-school program of the Detroit Board of Education.<sup>8</sup> It is a fact that relatively few adult Mexicans go to the night schools run by the Board of Education.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Mr. M was studying Spanish and learning to operate a typewriter (5-23-33). Once Mr. M was found by the worker to be "struggling with a typewriter trying to copy a Spanish newspaper" (10-4-34). Again (2-27-35) he was trying to mimeograph some pamphlets for the St. Joseph Society, and on another occasion (5-3-35) a "printing press" was seen on the dining-room table along with a pile of Mexican papers.

Marie read a great deal in Spanish and her brother had a library card by means of which he obtained Spanish literature.

<sup>7</sup> Interview with Secretary, Obreros Unidos, San Jose Hall, 1937.

<sup>8</sup> The International Institute in 1929 began English classes for young adults. The classes were held twice a week for a year, but were then transferred to the Neighborhood House, because of its proximity to the colony (*Annual Report*, Detroit International Center, 1929). In 1937 afternoon classes for Mexican women had been in operation at the Neighborhood House for four years. (Interview with teacher, 1937.) The importance of these English classes for students is reflected by letters to the International Institute praising it for its efforts in this direction (International Center files).

<sup>9</sup> Although there has been no recent census taken on the number of immigrants attending such courses, there were *very few* Mexicans among the adult elementary students. It is felt that those who do attend are the more intelligent, and are good students (Mr. De Galen, evening school director, 1937).

Some hardy individuals, however, have reacted against such inferior feelings, and have attempted to educate themselves as adults in this country. Those who make this attempt are usually persons who have had considerable schooling in Mexico, or else are those who have reconciled themselves to living out their lives in the United States.<sup>10</sup> The major motivation in some cases appears to be a desire to overcome feelings of "foreignness."

Mrs. O when first known to the Detroit Department of Public Welfare in 1930, eight years after coming to the United States, could speak very little English. Three years later, however, she had begun to go to English classes at the Houghton School on Monday and Wednesday. (2-8-33.) She regretted her lack of command over English since she would like to tell stories about Mexican life and history, a thing which she thinks Americans disregard. She thought Americans felt Mexico was a land without culture.<sup>11</sup>

When women go to night school it is of double significance, for they not only learn English but also pave the way to a less subordinate role for themselves in the family.<sup>12</sup> In general, however, women learn English less readily than do men, largely as a consequence of their more secluded position and their lack of firsthand contact with American culture.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The R family had been in the United States since 1920, and Mr. R had acquired naturalization papers. The oldest boy had gone into the priesthood here (*Detroit Free Press*, February 7, 1943). Mr. R had gone twelve years to school in Mexico. In 1935, Mrs. R began attending school in order to learn English.

When first contacted Marie A. could speak no English whereas her brother, Joseph C., spoke English very well. He interpreted for Marie. Since coming here in 1924 Mr. C. has gone to the Duffield Night School, attending in 1931. Marie, coming in 1929, had not attended any English schools.

<sup>11</sup> Mrs. M. can understand English but she hesitates to speak much, feeling her inferiority. For the past three years she has been attending night school at Cass and she proudly stated that she was in the third grade.

<sup>12</sup> Mrs. B's whole personality showed her independence. Her English was excellent, and she was the only one whom we interviewed, and who read the Spanish letter, who showed signs of understanding it. She had studied English at night school and is going back to study more.

<sup>13</sup> Mrs. G has not assimilated much of our American customs. It is surprising that she has been here for thirteen years and knows so little English.

Mrs. G was born in Texas. She hesitated to talk English to us, so her fourteen year old daughter translated her Spanish to us.

Mr. G can speak English "fairly well" but Mrs. G speaks English very poorly.

Because of the differential position of the sexes, the men make greater linguistic adaptations to American culture than do the women. The man, as breadwinner, has found himself forced to learn some English. Employment by itself, however, is not necessarily conducive to acquisition of the English tongue, since factory work frequently by its very nature allows little opportunity for social intercourse. On the other hand, few non-Mexicans learn Spanish in Detroit simply through contact with Mexicans, a condition markedly in contrast with the southwest. Some American women who are married to Mexican men have come to use Spanish.

Children retain their parents' tongue somewhat more greatly than is the case with children of other foreign extractions. If one emergent cultural feature runs through the Mexican immigrant family, it is the differential between generations in the knowledge of English. Unlike his offspring, the immigrant is not equipped with tools for the rapid absorption of new meanings, and he is already loaded down with much symbolic baggage brought from the old country. Language itself constitutes a value, for the mother tongue is an aspect of culture shot through with ethnocentrism. If one views his language as more beautiful than another, he will acquire and use a second tongue only as necessity demands. The store of language symbols possessed by children is fewer in number than are those of their parents. Thus, children undergo more a process of learning rather than a process of substitution in already acquired language symbols, as is the case with the older generation. The need for adjustment to the linguistic norms of midwestern American culture thus does not present itself as a problem to children to the same extent that it does to adults.

It is noteworthy that an increasing facility in the use of English, at least for the lower economic levels of Detroit Mexicans, dates from the beginning of relief recipience. This is shown in extracts from the C case

When Mr. C first applied (June 18, 1930) he required a friend to in-

terpret for him. In 1937 he is noted to speak English very well "and answers questions readily." In 1933, regarding Mrs. C the worker remarked: "Woman cannot speak English and finds it quite difficult to understand English" (March 31, 1932). Yet in 1937 she, too, conversed readily."

A growth in ability to speak English during this period is understandable on several grounds. First, it is more than likely that the individual who had been in Detroit for five years previous to 1930 would not have been employed in jobs necessitating much use of language. Furthermore, this was a period when his children were under five, and still largely speaking Spanish in the home. When employment terminated with the depression, the immigrant found intercourse with non-Mexicans inevitably expedited by his search for employment and through contact with relief workers. This was also a period when his children were coming of an age to speak English as their most common vehicle of communication.

In general, it appears that the more Mexican schooling to which a migrant had been subjected, the greater the probability of a linguistic adjustment in Detroit;<sup>14</sup> conversely, the less formal education, the more probable is a meager knowledge of English.

Some phenomena characteristic of the school adjustment of Mexican children may now be considered. Mexican children often are late in enrolling for school, and once in are frequently absent. These facts can in some degree be traced back to parental attitudes developed in the home country.

The opposition by some parents to sending children to the un-denominational public school results from the desire to retain Cath-

<sup>14</sup> Both Mr. and Mrs. C are indicated to "speak very little English." Ordinarily Mrs. C did the talking "since she was born in Pittsburgh." She recognized her husband's lack of English as a wall to advancement. Mrs. C stated Mr. C had been seeking employment every day and again spoke of his inability to speak or comprehend English which handicapped him in being reemployed" (March 24, 1937).

<sup>15</sup> When the M's first entered the United States, they attempted to conquer the language difficulty by using a Spanish-English dictionary in their shopping and other intercourse with Americans. Her father had several years of college in Mexico. By the time she was born, Miss M's parents had already assimilated much American culture, and so there was little conflict between herself and her parents on this score. Miss M speaks and writes Spanish and English.

olic training for the children. On the other hand, the parents are frequently too poor to pay the fees at parochial schools where such training may be obtained. The consequence is that the children are often kept from attending any school at all for a while. This is illustrated by the M case.

When Mr. M first applied for relief the children were found not to be in school. Mr. M explained that St. Vincent's School was too crowded for them and that he did not wish them to go to a public school.<sup>16</sup>

Such material factors, also, as a child's lack of clothing may be a reason for keeping him out, and this is a constant cause for absence after he has begun school.<sup>17</sup>

The objective fact of frequent inattendance at school, in the absence of qualifying information, may lead teachers and social workers to an impression of dullness on the part of the child.<sup>18</sup> When the child shows some aptitude for school adjustment he is likely to be considered "bright,"<sup>19</sup> but for evaluation purposes this epithet

<sup>16</sup> In the M family, Guadalupe, the oldest child, graduated from St. Leo's in June 1932, and Joseph M was attending the Ford Trade School. After graduation from St. Leo's, Guadalupe continued school at Commerce High School taking postgraduate work. Trinity also graduated from high school (April 24, 1937). All the younger children attended St. Vincent's School from which Mary graduated in June 1937 on a commercial curriculum.

<sup>17</sup> Josephine, at seven, had never been to school and Mr. D stated that he had not sent her because he did not have enough clothes to dress her properly (November 23, 1936). Several months later Josephine was in the first grade at the Webster School and she showed the worker a note from her teacher which stated that "the poor work is due to her absence which amounted to 28 days the previous term" (April 30, 1937).

<sup>18</sup> Mike, Magdalena, and Ophelia attended St. Peter and Paul's School. The Sisters felt that the children were below average ratings, were often absent and not punctual. For critical discussions of Mexican school adjustment nationally, see Manual Gamio, *Mexican Immigration to the United States* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930), pp. 71-74; T. E. Sullenger, "The Mexican Population of Omaha," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 6, 290, and P. S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States* (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: Berkeley The University of California Press, 1931), p. 20.

At the Houghton School, by use of a three-bracket intelligence rating, ten per cent of the Mexican pupils were in x category, fifty per cent in y (normal) category, and thirty-two per cent in z (inferior) category, with eight per cent unclassified.

<sup>19</sup> Antolena, a child in the first grade at the Houghton School, interpreted on several occasions for her grandmother. She is described as a "bright youngster."



needs to be collated with the stereotype of the Mexican as innately dull. From a sociological viewpoint the main discernible factor in retardation in school is the child's inability to comprehend and use English.

The effort of social agencies in attempting to temper the contact of Mexican children with formal educational institutions is shown by the work of the International Institute. In 1929 it furnished the impetus for the inauguration of special rooms for non-English-speaking children in the Pitcher and Houghton schools in which Mexican children predominated. At the Houghton School the Institute has been instrumental in helping the special room teachers to understand the home conditions and backgrounds of Mexican children.<sup>20</sup>

By the early 1930's two rooms had been developed at the Houghton School, one for kindergarten and first-grade students, and the other for those who had had some schooling in Mexico. At the end of one year the younger group had largely overcome its language handicap and was ready to enter the second grade along with American children. The older group made rapid progress, some students covering as much as five terms of work in one term. In the 1940's the teachers felt that Mexicans were comparable in intelligence to American children. No "race" friction was reported, and discipline problems were few for the Mexican children. The Houghton School lies in the heart of the Mexican concentration of population. There were, in 1941, 224 Mexican children there.<sup>21</sup>

While some parents view formal education beyond an elementary level as useless,<sup>22</sup> most parents desire an education for their chil-

<sup>20</sup> *Annual Report*, Detroit International Center, 1928.

<sup>21</sup> The public grammar schools most frequently attended by Mexican children are the Franklin, the Barstow, the Houghton, the Kraft, the Lyster, the Logan, and the Webster. Most of these schools are on the lower west side of Detroit.

<sup>22</sup> Mrs. P said that one of the last comments Mr. P made before he was deported was that he did not want Dolores to finish school. At 16, however, she was attending Western High School.

dren, yet few Mexican children finish high school in Detroit.<sup>23</sup> The greater education of children gives some of them a feeling of superiority over their parents, and this often becomes a basis for conflict with parental authority.<sup>24</sup>

It can be seen that the amount and kind of education which the Mexican brings to this country are factors important in the cultural adjustment of the group. The slow absorption of English speech and the failure to acquire formal schooling in this country hinder the adjustment markedly.

<sup>23</sup> Miss Woodward, principal of Western High School

Mrs. A said that the majority of the Mexicans do not realize the importance of education. She wants them to become more educated. She does not like to see them begin working as young as they do. She has never been in Mexico. She was born in Detroit, and her husband was born in Monterrey.

In Tucson, Dickerson found a drop of forty-five per cent in Mexican school attendance at the age of sixteen, when attendance was no longer compulsory. He felt that boys left school because of economic pressure and lack of home stimulation. Roy E. Dickerson, "Some Suggestive Problems in the Americanization of Mexicans," *Pedagogical Seminary*, Vol. 26, 291-294.

<sup>24</sup> As Ignacio Vasquez once said: "When children go to school and learn, for example, that most of the Mexican population lives as rural peasants, the children feel ashamed of their ancestry. The succession to the United States of Texas, California, and New Mexico are written into American textbooks as legitimate conquest. The children *know* these things because they read them in books, and their parents don't know them, or garble what they purport to know. Conflict accrues and the parents endure the humiliation the children force on them, without recourse."

# A STATISTICAL STUDY OF WOMEN MATHEMATICIANS IN THE SIX EDITIONS OF "AMERICAN MEN OF SCIENCE"

A. E. Andrews

The problem is to present a statistical study of women mathematicians listed in the six editions of *American Men of Science* by Dr J McKeen Cattell, resulting in a comparative description of the education and number of women mathematicians listed in the editions over a period of nearly forty years of education for women in the United States

The basic assumption is that some women, and an increasing number of them, have taken advantage of educational opportunities; that they have made significant contributions to science. A listing in one of these editions is the criterion of significance

The specific problems are (1) to determine the average age at the highest degree, (2) to determine the average age at the time of citation, (3) the average lapse of time between the two events, (4) the three colleges most frequently granting higher degrees in mathematics to women, and (5) the ratio of women to men cited

*The History of Early American Education of Women*<sup>1</sup> is filled with quotations for and against the social value of higher education for women. In the decade 1870-1880, secondary schools were so firmly established in the United States that girls were able to attend them provided their parents could be persuaded to allow them and if the girls could persist in studying so unwomanly a subject as mathematics

The conventional opposition to college education for girls was so strong at this time that only the wealthiest and most determined could go at all. The study of mathematics was chiefly limited to the

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Woody, *The History of Early American Education of Women* (Lancaster, Pa. Science Press, 1929)

fields of astronomy, navigation, and calculus.<sup>2</sup> Until 1890, the boys of the United States fared little better in mathematical preparation. Since 1890, the resources for mathematical research have increased and attracted many able men and women until, at present, this country may be considered the center of mathematical learning of the world.<sup>3</sup>

Yale, Bryn Mawr, and Chicago were the earliest colleges to grant Ph.D. degrees to women in mathematics.<sup>4</sup> The establishment of land-grant colleges in the Middle West provided opportunities for a girl to study and has doubtless been a large factor in the present number of women undergraduates.

Except for rare instances of mathematical genius, the opportunity for learning was even more generally denied to women than to men until after 1870. Then, for two decades, education for women was limited to the secondary and undergraduate levels. The decades 1890-1910 opened graduate schools and granted the Ph.D. degree to women.<sup>5</sup> The practice of mathematics was mainly limited to teaching until the decade 1920-1930, when a few women were able to enter business research departments as statisticians and computers.<sup>6</sup> The years 1930-1940 show an increase in the number of graduate degrees granted to women. Whether the next decade will maintain the decreasing ratio of men to women graduate students will depend upon social changes. The trend is toward a 1-1 correspondence.

Table I shows the total number of names, the total number of women scientists, and the total number of women mathematicians in each edition.

<sup>2</sup> Woody, op. cit., p. 1

<sup>3</sup> R. C. A., Introduction to *The History of the American Mathematical Society* Semi Centennial Publication, Vol. 1, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Woody, op. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Woody, op. cit.

<sup>6</sup> Cattell, *American Men of Science*

TABLE I

CENSUS OF THE SIX EDITIONS OF "AMERICAN MEN OF SCIENCE"

<i>Edition<sup>7</sup></i>	<i>Total Number of Names</i>	<i>Total Number of Women</i>	<i>Ratio of Men to Women</i>	<i>Number of Women Mathematicians</i>
1906	4,000	149	25.8	14
1910	5,500	208	26.3	16
1921	9,500	424	21.4	42
1927	13,500	725	17.6	64
1933	20,000	1,936	9.3	110
1938	28,000	2,000	13.0	142

From 1900 to 1935, there was an increase in the proportion of women to the total. The greatest increase appeared in the 1935 edition. The 1938 edition shows a decrease. The women mathematicians show an increase over the whole period, including 1938, but also have the greatest increase in the 1933 edition. The ratio of men to women in the 1906 edition was 26 to 1; in 1933, 9 to 1, in 1938, 13 to 1. Here arises the question of why the ratio has changed retrogressively instead of following the evident trend. The answer must be sought outside the limitations of this paper.

Table II indicates this average age at which the highest degree (usually the Ph.D.) was obtained at  $29 \pm 1.5$  years in 1906, but  $32 \pm .4$  years in 1938.

The average in the first three editions is lowered by the number of A.B. and A.M. degrees which were treated as Ph.D. degrees because, in every case, there had been further study at least equivalent to that required for the higher degree. The age in the last three editions is raised by the number of older women receiving the degree at an age normally outside the range of school study. The range of greatest frequency lies between the ages of 25 and 40; that is, 68 per cent of the women mathematicians are within that age interval.

Table III gives the age of citation in *American Men of Science*.

<sup>7</sup> Cattell, *op cit*

TABLE II

FREQUENCY TABLE OF AGE OF WOMEN MATHEMATICIANS  
AT TIME OF HIGHEST DEGREE

Age	Edition <sup>a</sup>					
	1906	1910	1920	1927	1933	1938
20-24	3	3	4	5	12	11
25-29	5	5	16	24	45	60
30-34	4	4	11	17	28	36
35-39	1	2	6	8	12	21
40-44		1	3	5	4	6
45-49			1	3	4	4
50-54					2	2
55-59					2	1
60-64				1	1	1
No degree	1	1	1	1		
Total	14	16	42	64	110	142
Mean age	28.7	28.3	31.4	31.9	31.9	31.9
P.E.	1.54	1.51	.76	.69	.51	.38
S.D.	8.56	9.12	7.38	8.35	7.92	6.81
P.E.	1.10	1.09	.54	.50	.36	.27

The age was computed by subtracting the birth year from the year of the edition in which the name first appeared. This age was carried through in each edition as long as the name continued to appear. The disappearance of a name, of course, occurred at death. The average age varies from  $42 \pm .2$  years in 1906 to  $41 \pm .6$  years in 1938. The range of greatest frequency is from 30 to 50 years; that is, 68 per cent of the women mathematicians are within that age interval.

*Who's Who*, 1937 cites 45 years as the average of citation in that annual. In the appendix of the 1933 edition of *American Men of Science*, Dr. Cattell cites 36 years as the average age of citation for mathematicians, and 28 years as the average age for the Ph.D. de-

<sup>a</sup> Cattell, *American Men of Science*, editions I-VI

TABLE III

FREQUENCY TABLE OF AGE OF WOMEN MATHEMATICIANS  
AT FIRST CITATION IN "AMERICAN MEN OF SCIENCE"

Age	Edition <sup>a</sup>					
	1906	1910	1921	1927	1933	1938
20-24						
25-29		1	1	3	6	10
30-34	3	4	9	15	31	45
35-39	5	3	10	13	22	25
40-44	2	4	9	12	18	25
45-49	2	2	5	9	12	13
50-54			2	4	7	6
55-59	1	1	5	6	8	7
60-64	1	1	1	1	5	7
65-69				1	1	4
Total	14	16	42	64	110	142
Mean age	41.8	40.9	42.2	41.9	41.3	40.7
P.E.	1.67	1.50	.97	.62	.62	.57
S.D.	9.25	9.05	9.30	8.59	9.67	10.5
P.E.	1.18	1.08	.68	.52	.44	.41

gree. The women mathematicians in this study of data for 1938 are found to be  $41 \pm .6$  years of age at citation and  $32 \pm .4$  years of age at the time of the highest degree. Economic and social circumstances may be factors causing women to delay their degrees about 4 years later than men, with a corresponding lag in citation.

It is interesting to note the progression in the receipt of higher degrees from the age of 40 in 1906 to the age of 65 in 1938. There is a suggestive increase in the number of citations after 40 years, indicating the influence of a higher degree upon the chances of obtaining a citation. It is further to be noted, that, although degrees are received as early as the age interval between 20-25 years, a citation never occurs in this study before the 25-30 interval. Sixty-seven

<sup>a</sup> Cattell, *op. cit.*

per cent of the total number of degrees in the 1938 edition lie in a 2-interval space (10 years, *i.e.*, 25-35 space), while the same percentage among the citations lies in a 3-interval space (15 years, *i.e.*, 30-45 space), a time lapse of from 5 to 10 years.

Table IV lists the colleges granting graduate degrees to women mathematicians and also the rank by frequency and size as reported in 1939.<sup>10</sup> Chicago has consistently held first place in the granting of graduate degrees to women, though twenty-eighth in size. Columbia is second in frequency and third in size. Cornell ranks third but seventeenth in size and Illinois is fourth in both frequency and size.

Chicago and Columbia are reported as being among the first four universities in the high quality of their departments of mathematics, the other two being Princeton and Harvard.<sup>11</sup> This, coupled with the fact that Cornell and Columbia have been willing to grant degrees to women since 1900, is doubtless responsible for the greater frequency with which they appear. The graduate departments of Cornell and Illinois have also been coeducational since 1900 and they rank third and fourth in the frequency with which they grant degrees to women.

In studying the size of the populations from which these names were taken, some facts appeared as to the increase of eligible people during the past 40 years. There are no figures available to show the women graduates in mathematics or the number who are teaching mathematics. However, the number of men receiving bachelor and graduate degrees increased 6.6-fold between 1900 and 1938 while the number of women in the same category increased 19-fold.<sup>12</sup> During the same period, the number of men listed in *American Men of Science* increased 6.5-fold while the number of women increased 13.3-fold. A correction factor should be applied to the 19-fold for women before any comparison between the 13.3 and 19 can be made. Marriage and the resultant retirement from active work denies

<sup>10</sup> *School and Society*, December 16, 1939.

<sup>11</sup> Cattell, *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> United States Bureau of Education, *Statistical Bulletin of Higher Education*, 1938.



TABLE IV

FREQUENCY TABLE OF COLLEGES GRANTING HIGHEST DEGREE TO WOMEN  
MATHEMATICIANS INCLUDED IN "AMERICAN MEN OF SCIENCE"

Colleges	Number of Degrees Granted by Each College						Rank by Frequency					Present Rank by Size	
	1906	1910	1921	1927	1933	1938	1906	1910	1921	1927	1933	1938	
1. Brown					2	2					8	8	
2 Bryn Mawr	1	1	3	4	6	6	3	3	3	3	4	5	
3 California					3	2					7	8	1
4 Cambridge						1						9	
5 Carleton			1	1	1	1				6	9	9	
6 Catholic University					1	2					9	8	
7 Chicago		3	7	12	24	30		1	1	1	1	1	18
8 Cincinnati				1		1				6		9	29
9 Columbia	1	2	2	6	13	12	3	2	4	2	2	2	3
10 Cornell	1	1	3	4	9	11	3	3	3	3	3	3	17
11 Duke					1	2					9	8	
12 George Washington						1						9	
13 Gottingen	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	4	5	8	9	
14 Holyoke			1	1	1	1				6	9	9	
15 Hopkins			2	2	3	6			4	5	7	5	
16 Illinois			2	3	6	8			4	4	4	4	4
17 Indiana			1			1			5			9	24
18 Iowa			1	2	5	5			5	5	5	5	
19 Kentucky						1						9	
20 London	1	1	1	1			3	3	5	6			
21 Michigan	1	1	3	4	4	5	3	3	3	3	6	6	7
22 Minnesota				1	1	2				6	9	8	2
23 Missouri				1	3	3				6	7	7	17
24. Ohio State			1	1	1	2			5	6	9	8	5
25 Oklahoma				1	1	1				6	9	9	21
26 Peabody						1						9	
27. Pennsylvania			1	3	2	3			5	4	8	7	14
28. Radcliffe			1	2	2	6			5	5	8	5	12
29 Rice Institute					1	1					9	9	
30 Rome				1	1	1				6	9	9	
31. Smith				1	1	2				6	9	8	
32 Stanford					1	2					9	8	
33 Syracuse				1	1	1				6	9	9	23
34. Texas			1	1	2	2			5	6	8	8	10
35 Toronto						2						8	
36 Tulane					1	1					9	9	
37 Vassar	1	1	1	1			3	3	5	6			
38 Washington State						1						9	9
39 Wellesley			1	1	1				5	6	9		
40 Wisconsin					3	6					7	5	8
41. Yale	2	3	6	6	6	5	2	2	2		4	6	5
42 Zurich					1	1					9	9	
No college stated	3	1	1										
Total	14	16	42	64	110	142							

women all chance to become eligible for a citation, a situation that does not occur among men.

The conclusions reached from this study are that there are women mathematicians of worth; that the number is increasing, that the average age of attaining a Ph.D. degree is  $31 \pm .4$  years; of attaining recognition,  $41 \pm .6$  years; that the lapse of time between graduation and citation is usually  $10 \pm 0$  years; that the range of years for both events covers the usual working span from 25 to 65 years although there seems to appear a tendency for the ages to contract toward the average ages of 31 and 41 in future editions; that Chicago is the college most frequently granting graduate degrees to women mathematicians with Columbia second and Cornell third. In short, there is no evidence available to indicate that, if women are given the same motivation and opportunity as men, women are not equally capable in the field of mathematics.

In *American Men of Science*, Dr. Cattell stars one thousand names in each edition as being those who have achieved outstanding accomplishments in the field of original scientific work. Among the 172 women mathematicians in this study, 4 have won this signal honor. The names of these outstanding women mathematicians are Dr. Sarah Scott, Dr. Christine Ladd-Franklin, Dr. Anna Pell Wheeler, and Dr. Olive Clio Hazlet.

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## CHANGING BELIEFS IN HEREDITY THROUGH EDUCATION COURSES

Lynn L. Ralyo<sup>1</sup>

The conceptions and beliefs of prospective teachers concerning the nature and significance of biological and social heredity inevitably condition their visions of the potentialities and limitations of formal education as a means of conserving values coming down to us from the past and of bringing about social progress. They inevitably have tremendous bearing upon such students' understanding and appreciation of the professional roles which they themselves might play in the human drama and consequently influence the character and the degree of their motivation. Studies of the extent to which such conceptions and beliefs are subscribed to by groups of students at different times, and of changes in the numbers subscribing to them, particularly during their period of professional education, should therefore be of value in offering suggestions concerning needed shifts in emphasis with reference to the normal content of both nonprofessional and professional courses. There is danger that the changes in emphasis might be accompanied by undesirable changes in teaching procedures in the direction of unwarranted indoctrination and away from sound and really educational methods—but it is believed that the benefits to be gained by such a program would greatly outweigh such evils.

### The Institution

The institution where the data were gathered was a State college of average size located in the southeast and catering to men only. With reference to the quality of the institution, it may be stated that it possessed one of the best physical plants for its purpose to be

<sup>1</sup> The following students cooperated in the tabulation of the data upon which this study is based: M. P. Bodie, J. J. Bolduc, J. B. Calk, A. C. Carey, J. C. Phillips, E. W. Tyburski.

found in the region and a faculty with about as large a percentage of its number holding Ph.D. degrees as would be found in other colleges and universities in the region. There were no data available concerning the performance of its students with reference to national or regional norms, except that gathered from freshmen at the time of their entrance. These entering freshmen, during the period with which we are concerned, were representative in scholastic aptitude of those entering other colleges and universities in the region—according to the results obtained on American Council Psychological Examinations. It can also be stated that about 45 per cent of the freshmen, on the average, survived the influences of whatever factors contributed toward their elimination to be graduated

#### The Subjects

The subjects whose cooperation yielded the data upon which this study is based were mostly junior and senior members of five successive years of classes in education and numbered 129. They were, it would seem, not far from representative in their general college achievement of the college classes of which they were members or of the larger group, who over the somewhat longer period of 7 years for which data are available enrolled for courses in education. To be more specific: when the ranks in college achievement of the 129 subjects of this study in their separate college classes were obtained as far along toward their graduation as was possible (generally at the time of their graduation) and converted into percentile ranks in their respective classes, and these percentile ranks gathered into a single distribution, the median percentile rank was 52 and the middle 50 per cent of the percentile ranks ranged from 25 to 71; when a similar distribution was made for the larger group of 212 subjects who enrolled for courses in education over the somewhat more extended period of 7 years, the median percentile rank was 51 and the middle 50 per cent of the percentile ranks ranged from 27 to 75. The 129 subjects of this study were,

apparently, not quite as good in their college achievement, however, as those who over the 7-year period completed 3 or more courses (9 or more credits) in education. To be more specific: a similar distribution of percentile ranks for the 97 such subjects yielded a median percentile rank of 59 and a ranging of the middle 50 per cent of the percentile ranks from 30 to 83.

### Courses Taken

The college courses required of, and previously taken by, nearly all of these subjects included: foreign language, mathematics, chemistry, and physics. About one third of the subjects (the pre-medics) had taken biology in college and nearly as many subjects had taken sociology. The majors represented by these subjects were as follows: chemistry 9, English 19, history 28, modern language 1, mathematics 3, physics 12, political science 21, pre-medical 36. About one third of the subjects had previously taken work in general psychology and about as many were taking, or would later take, a course in the subject.

Most of the subjects received their introduction to the professional field of education in a semester course which was a survey of current American education; the rest of them in a course which described the historical development of education from early times but with the greatest emphasis being placed upon its evolution in this country. Nearly all of the subjects took, as the second course in the year's sequence, a course in educational psychology. Some of the subjects took an additional semester course or two in education during the same year. All courses were 3 semester hours in length.

### The Test and Its Administration

This study reports a part of the results of an investigation which involved the construction and use of a test of 160 items. The 45 items considered appropriate to this particular study are presented in a table which follows. Sources of information useful in the for-

mulation of test items included (a) various types of texts in education, (b) knowledge and conjectures concerning the conceptions and beliefs of students in education courses gained in the informal teaching of them, (c) the results of a preliminary investigation,<sup>2</sup> and (d) the final or preliminary results of somewhat similar investigations made collaboratively.<sup>3</sup>

The test was given to the subjects at the very beginning of their first course in education and again at the end of their year of professional work in the field. In both administrations of the test a studied effort, believed reasonably successful, was made to secure careful consideration of the test items and intellectually honest responses to them. With this dual end in view, the subjects were (a) told briefly of the need and value of such investigations, (b) assured that the project did not represent "real testing" and that none of the results would be connected with their names in any way, (c) assured of, and given, all of the time which they found necessary to complete the undertaking, and (d) urged to respond in accordance with their real beliefs. They were also given three choices in responding of believe, disbelieve, and uncertain—instead of the usual two of belief and disbelief—in the hope of gaining their confidence and more valid reactions.

### Treatment of Data

The 160 statements of the test were formulated to represent concepts and beliefs considered desirable or undesirable in accordance with the writer's understanding of pertinent current knowledge and judgment concerning the consensus of authoritative opinions, and in accordance with his assumptions concerning the interpreta-

<sup>2</sup> Lynn L. Ralya, "Some Opinions of Educational Significance Held by Prospective Teachers," *South Carolina Education* (April 1939).

<sup>3</sup> Lynn L. and Lillian L. Ralya, "Some Misconceptions in Science Held by Prospective Elementary Teachers," *Science Education* (October 1938); "Some Concepts and Beliefs Significant to the Social Sciences of Entering Freshmen and the Relation of These to Scholastic Aptitude," *Social Forces* (March 1942).

tions which the subjects would probably put upon the statements. Subsequent discoveries of ambiguities and unanticipated interpretations led to the elimination of a few of the statements. The 45 items or statements of this study considered satisfactory and pertinent are accompanied, in the table where they are found, by a key which indicates the desirability of belief or disbelief—in accordance with the criteria just referred to. The numbers of subjects considered successful because they indicated belief or disbelief, at the beginning and at the end of a year of courses in education, are also given for each statement.

TABLE I

STATEMENTS AND SUBJECTS SUCCESSFUL ON THEM AT BEGINNING  
AND AT END OF YEAR OF PROFESSIONAL WORK

NOTE. B in key column means believed; D in same column means disbelieved.

No	Statement	Key	Per Cent of Subjects Successful	
			Before	After
1.	The heredity of an individual is determined at the time the sperm meets the egg	B	52	48
2.	The heredity of an individual is not established until the time of birth	D	60	66
3.	All of the behavior of a child immediately after birth is the result of inheritance	D	64	62
4.	All of the traits appearing in a child after birth are directly the results of the environment's influence	D	69	63
5.	The child stands half way between the parents in each of the characteristics which he inherits	D	78	83
6.	Human behavior is best understood by considering numerous inherited instincts	D	28	36
7.	Human nature cannot be changed since it is based on instincts	D	42	56
8.	Mothers instinctively know the best ways of caring for their children	D	55	60

No	Statement	Key	Per Cent of Subjects Successful	
			Before	After
9.	Man instinctively knows the difference between good and evil	D	47	56
10.	Children inherit a tendency to fear many kinds of living things	D	56	66
11.	Most of the differences in the interests of boys and girls are due to inheritance	D	57	55
12.	The conscience is part of man's native equipment at birth	D	48	58
13.	All children are born bad; it is from their environment that they learn goodness	D	72	85
14.	All children are born good, it is from their environment that they learn badness	D	38	45
15.	A child's mind is like a blank sheet of paper upon which anything may be written	D	21	28
16.	With the possible exception of identical twins, it is extremely seldom, if ever, that two individuals have the same heredity	B	72	82
17.	On the average twins are more alike mentally than are ordinary brothers and sisters	B	49	62
18.	On the average the strongest men physically are the weakest mentally	D	85	89
19.	Primitive people have by inheritance keener sights and hearing than do more advanced people	D	43	65
20.	It has been definitely proved that boys and girls differ in inborn intelligence on the average	D	42	47
21.	Heredity is of much greater importance in determining the individual mental and emotional characteristics than is the environment	D	61	63
22.	Potential geniuses almost inevitably overcome the limitations of their environments	D	27	40
23.	Only the weak are held back by their environments	D	63	65
24.	Any child, if carefully trained from birth, could be made a successful doctor, lawyer, engineer, or journalist	D	82	83



No.	Statement	Key	Per Cent of Subjects Successful	
			Before	After
25	Training animals to do tricks will increase the ability which their young will have when born	D	75	84
26	If the tails of rats are cut off generation after generation, there will eventually be born rats without tails	D	52	62
27	If a woman improves her mind by reading during the period of pregnancy the child will be born with greater intellectual interests	D	88	92
28	A child's fear of snakes is inherited from his remote ancestors because they learned to fear them	D	78	83
29	The children of today possibly have no greater intellectual ability when born than the children of 5,000 years ago	B	44	62
30	Human progress is due to increased native (inborn) intelligence from age to age	D	52	65
31	The individual needs society to become and remain human	B	80	92
32	Group civilization survives best when individuals understand and participate in it	B	96	98
33	In primitive society individuals are free from social restrictions	D	58	75
34	Individual liberty may aid group survival	B	52	68
35	Individual liberty may prevent group survival	B	55	72
36	Human institutions are man made	B	72	83
37	No human institution should be considered above criticism	B	83	88
38	The individual should be given complete freedom to examine all institutions and to accept only those which conform to his reason and appeal to his desires	D	47	57
39	The imposition of institutions upon an individual is a guarantee of his socialization	D	50	65
40	One man's opinion is as good as another man's	D	75	80
41	The judgment of the masses taken together is always better than the judgment of any one man	D	66	76

No	Statement	Key	Per Cent of Subjects Successful	
			Before	After
42.	The interests of all classes of people are entirely identical	D	94	98
43.	The interests of the masses would best be taken care of by the intelligent and educated if they were allowed complete control of society	D	49	52
44.	All of man's actions are determined by his desire to seek pleasure and avoid pain	D	54	58
45.	If every individual is allowed and encouraged to seek what he considers the greatest good for himself, the result for society as a whole is the greatest good for the greatest number	D	58	69

#### Interpretation of Results

The interpretation of the results has certain limitations. Any verbal structure can have the same meaning to all involved only to about the extent that their pertinent experiences have been alike; while the relative significance in human life of different concepts and beliefs can frequently be determined only with difficulty—if at all. Nor is it always possible to reach a verdict concerning the probable relative strengths of the different influences responsible for the number of subjects possessing a particular concept or belief, or for the change in that number. Nevertheless, interpretations of the more significant results must be risked by writer, or reader, or both, if the results are to have much value.

Attention is first called to the fact that many of the subjects did not clearly understand, apparently, that the time of conception rather than the time of birth is the period of significance in the establishment of an individual's hereditary tendencies—if the results on items 1 and 2 may be taken at proximate face value. Nor was there much change in the number indicating understanding during their year of work in education. It would seem that those lacking knowledge of the above basic, elementary, biological fact could

hardly possess much comprehension of other important, rudimentary facts concerning human heredity which are based upon this one.

Attention is next called to the very large number of subjects who failed to reject beliefs representing the traditional and unsound view concerning the fixity of what we, although recognizing the unsound connotations often surrounding the term, are forced for want of a better one to call "human nature." Several of these beliefs center around the so-called "instincts" (6, 7, 8, 9)<sup>4</sup>, one involves the inheritance of fears (10); another, the inheritance of interests (11); while three center around the supposed inheritance of man's moral nature (12, 13, 14). Two of the last three items were designed to represent the opposing Calvin and Rousseau doctrines, concerning the character of man's innate moral nature (13, 14)—and the high degree of failure was in accepting the latter doctrine (14). There was improvement on all of the preceding items except one (11) during the period, however.

Items 11 and 16 through 20 are devoted to the important problem of individual differences. Although the success in some of them was fairly high, and although there was improvement on all but one of them during the period, two important weaknesses were revealed. About half of the subjects failed, at the beginning of the period, to reject the statement that most of the differences in the interests of boys and girls are due to inheritance (11) and about the same number failed to reject the statement that boys and girls differ in "inborn" intelligence (20). Nor was there much change during the period on these two items.

Items 21, 22, 23, and 24, to which attention is next called, represent directly what is unfortunately and commonly referred to as the "heredity versus environment issue"—as though these two sets of factors operated in opposition rather than in inseparable cooperation in the development of an individual. As would be expected in

<sup>4</sup>Numbers in parentheses are those of the items in the table

the light of the results obtained on the items dealing with the "fixity" of "human nature," a large number of subjects failed to reject statements representing extreme hereditarian beliefs (21, 22, 23). It is difficult to see how those holding such beliefs could expect as much to be accomplished by universal education as is actually being accomplished in places where it exists.

Belief in the unproved and thoroughly discredited Lamarckian doctrine that acquired characteristics are inherited would seem to prevent adequate appreciation of the role played by social inheritance and socialization in human development and social progress. Items 25, 26, 27, 28 were designed to reveal the assumptions of the doctrine by the subjects in rather specific situations. There was a considerable increase in the numbers successful on the items during the period but it is impossible to say just how many rejected the doctrine in all of the situations where it was presented. However, the more general statement that human progress is due to increased (inborn) intelligence from age to age was rejected by about half of the subjects at the beginning and by two thirds of them at the end of the period (30).

It is worthy of special comment that the success of the subjects on two of the items concerning the relationship between the individual and society was very high (31, 32). At the end of the period 92 per cent subscribed to the statement that the individual needs society to become and remain human (31) and 98 per cent accepted the statement that group civilization survives best when individuals understand and participate in it (32). However, the success on the items (33, 34, 35, 38) devoted to the problem of the reciprocal relationship of individual freedom and social welfare was much less, although there was considerable improvement on all items during the period.

Items 36, 37, 38, and 39 are statements about institutions. It is worthy of note that a fairly large percentage of the subjects consider human institutions to be man made (36) and a slightly larger per-

centage agree that human institutions should not be considered above criticism (37). Furthermore, there is better showing on the items at the end of the period than at the beginning. However, at the beginning of the period, about half of the subjects failed to reject the indefensible statement that the individual should be given complete freedom to examine all institutions and to accept only those which conform to his reason and appeal to his desires (38) and about the same number failed to reject a statement of the assumption, altogether too frequently encountered, that the imposition of institutions upon an individual is a guarantee of his socialization (39). Nor is there enough improvement on these items by the end of the period to consider the final results satisfactory.

The larger problem of social control is, of course, significantly related to smaller problems centering around such conceptions as "opinions" and "interests." It is worthy of attention that about three fourths of the subjects were successful on an item dealing with individual opinion (40) and about as many on an item dealing with mass judgment (41). In addition, nearly all of the subjects indicated their recognition of the fact that the interests of all classes of people are not entirely identical (42). However, about half of the subjects subscribed to a statement of the dogma dear to the hearts of, and important in the wishful thinking of, some proponents of a class or caste society—the dogma that the interests of the masses would best be taken care of by the intelligent and educated if they were allowed complete control of society (43). Nor is there a significant change during the year in the number subscribing to this doctrine.

Two closely related "principles" of great significance in social thinking are represented by items 44 and 45—the hedonistic and that of *laissez faire*. The doctrines are, of course, unsound and dangerous to individual and social welfare when given the scope represented by the statements, and yet it is true that the principles do function, or might be so limited as to function, in certain areas of

human behavior, and lead to only individual and social good. Too many subjects subscribed to the items, considering their great importance, even at the end of the period

### Summary and Conclusions

The numbers of students possessing certain concepts and beliefs concerning biological and social heredity have been determined with some degree of objectivity for the time when they began their first course in education and again at the end of a year of such courses. The changes during the period in the numbers entertaining such concepts and beliefs have also been noted. The results considered of greater significance have been commented upon and some interpretations ventured.

Although the relative strength of the different influences responsible for the successes and weaknesses with reference to the different biological and sociological concepts and beliefs cannot be determined, it should be noted that, as has been previously stated, only about one third of the subjects had taken a college course in biology and even fewer subjects had taken one in sociology. It would seem that such courses might well have been required of all subjects. In the absence of such a requirement, and any possibility of securing it, it would seem that the introductory course in education should be made more sociological and the course in educational psychology more biological.

## RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF CHILDREN IN COMMUNITIES OF TWO DIFFERENT CULTURAL PATTERNS

Lester R. and Viola D. Wheeler

As a part of a more comprehensive survey of religious education,<sup>1</sup> comparisons have been made of the results on questionnaires given during the school year 1942-1943 to all seventh- and eighth-grade pupils in the industrial community of Lebanon, New Hampshire, and in the college town of Hanover, New Hampshire. The children in the first town are largely from homes of industrial workers, a few farm homes on the outskirts of the town, and the usual small number of professional families—doctors, lawyers, and clergy—to be found in a town of seven thousand. The public-school population of Hanover is made up mainly of children of professors, doctors, teachers, and the various employees of Dartmouth College; the town has no industries and is strictly a college community.

### Method of Study

A thousand forty-eight clergymen of all denominations in different sections of the United States were asked to answer 90 to 100 questions as they would like seventh- and eighth-grade children to answer them. A questionnaire was formulated of fifty questions on which the clergy agreed. These questions consisted of factual knowledge and ideas concerning God, prayer, future life, the church, Jesus, the sacraments, Christian conduct, and religion in general. These questionnaires were answered by 99 pupils in Hanover and by 192 in Lebanon, and the results compared with the clergy's standards. The children who go to Sunday school or church are compared with those who never attend, and comparisons are made between towns. The results are shown in tables I, II, and III.

<sup>1</sup> L. R. and V. D. Wheeler, *Summary of a Survey in Religious Education*. Mimeographed, Educational Clinic Bulletin 135, East Tennessee State College, Johnson City, Tennessee, 1943.

Certain obvious difficulties arise in attempting to interpret data of this kind. The elementary nature of the questionnaire and the necessarily subjective manner of treating the results make statistical comparisons questionable. However, certain trends appear throughout the data which seem significant, and which may stimulate further inquiry into some of the problems of religious education.

### Church Attendance

There appears to be a slightly greater interest in church activities in the industrial community. In Lebanon 56 per cent of the children go to Protestant and 28 per cent to Roman Catholic churches, and 16 per cent do not attend any Sunday school or church. In Hanover 59 per cent go to Protestant churches, 19 per cent to Catholic, and 22 per cent never attend. These figures indicate neither actual church affiliations nor regularity of attendance, but are the responses to the questions, "Do you go to Sunday school or church? If so, which church?"

TABLE I

COMPARISONS OF COLLEGE AND INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITIES ON FACTUAL  
KNOWLEDGE OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

	<i>Per Cent of Children Reaching Standards on Questions About</i>								
	<i>Christ mas</i>	<i>Mother of Christ</i>	<i>Good Friday</i>	<i>Birth place of Jesus</i>	<i>Easter</i>	<i>Lord's Prayer</i>	<i>Nation- ality of Jesus</i>	<i>Golden Rule</i>	<i>Aver- age</i>
Church children									
*Hanover	83	94	57	77	56	79	60	58	71
†Lebanon	80	93	38	62	48	57	56	24	57
Difference	3	1	19	15	8	22	4	34	14
Nonchurch children									
*Hanover	45	64	9	45	18	32	45	18	35
†Lebanon	61	58	6	48	19	42	23	30	35
Difference	-16	6	3	-3	-1	-10	22	-12	0

\* college community

† industrial community



### Factual Knowledge

Table I gives the achievement of the children on the parts of the questionnaire dealing with factual knowledge. Among the church groups the children in the college town have a consistently superior rating. They did over a hundred per cent better on knowing or interpreting the Golden Rule, over a third better on the Lord's Prayer, fifty per cent better on the significance of Good Friday, and a fourth better on naming the birthplace of Christ. On the other factual questions the differences are less significant, but consistently in favor of the college community.

Among the nonchurch children the average indicates no difference between the towns. On questions about the nationality of Jesus the college town is superior, and on the Golden Rule, Lord's Prayer, and celebration of Christmas the industrial group has a slight advantage.

### Ideas and Attitudes

Table II shows the results on questions involving ideas and attitudes about the Christian faith. The percentage of children who agree with the clergy's answers are given after each question for church and nonchurch groups in both communities. Between the church and nonchurch children of both towns there is a trend which has been further substantiated in other phases of the survey.<sup>2</sup> There is a significant difference in favor of the children who go to Sunday school or church, indicating the church to be an effective factor in developing the religious concepts of young people.

Among the children who never attend church activities, the group in the college town is more liberal in its ideas about God than are the nonchurch children in the industrial community: 22 per cent more of the college group believe God speaks to us through good men and women of today, 31 per cent more think God has

<sup>2</sup> Ref. cit

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN REACHING CLERGY'S STANDARDS ON IDEAS AND  
ATTITUDES AMONG CHURCH AND NONCHURCH GROUPS IN COLLEGE  
AND INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITIES

<i>Questions concerning</i>	<i>College Town Hanover</i>		<i>Industrial Town Lebanon</i>	
	<i>Church Per Cent</i>	<i>Nonchurch Per Cent</i>	<i>Church Per Cent</i>	<i>Nonchurch Per Cent</i>
<i>God</i>				
1. Is God as near us anywhere else as in church?	95	89	88	76
2. Is God still speaking to us today as He did in Bible times?	77	85	71	75
3. Is God a person with a form like a man?	59	40	52	31
4. Does God stop loving us when we are bad or do wrong?	87	67	92	71
5. Did God love and care for people in Bible times more than He does today?	80	87	84	75
6. Does God fix the time for each person to die regardless of what the per- son may do?	69	68	47	39
7. Does God speak to us through good men and women of today?	81	76	77	54
8. Has God spoken to us through any other books than the Bible?	70	86	74	55
9. Does God love those who do not worship Him?	82	73	76	60
10. Does God often speak to us through things that are beautiful?	79	65	72	62
11. Does God love us more than He does other races?	98	88	91	76
12. Will God refuse to give us help and care if we fail to thank Him?	98	79	89	76
13. Does God sit on a throne ruling the earth like a great king?	89	89	97	78
14. Does God know and often think about every person in the world?	91	90	92	90
Average	82	77	79	65

	<i>College Town Hanover</i>		<i>Industrial Town Lebanon</i>	
	<i>Church Per Cent</i>	<i>Nonchurch Per Cent</i>	<i>Church Per Cent</i>	<i>Nonchurch Per Cent</i>
<i>Questions concerning</i>				
<i>Prayer</i>				
1. If we pray morning and night is it important to pray at other times?	62	72	59	52
2. It is important to pray if there is nothing we especially want to ask for?	87	72	74	65
3. If we pray will God help us pass an examination we have not studied for?	79	64	76	47
4. Is it well to pray the same prayer every time we pray?	69	64	63	60
Average	74	68	69	56

*Future Life*

1. Do those who die keep on living in another life?	80	40	69	53
2. Is the chief purpose of religion to save us in a future life?	69	61	61	53
3. Do wicked people suffer for their sins after they die?	81	68	72	60
4. If there were no future life would religion be of any use to you?	70	79	64	65
5. Do people who have never heard of Jesus go to Hell when they die?	90	97	94	84
Average	78	68	72	63

*The Church*

1. Does joining the church make it sure that one is saved?	82	79	75	59
2. Does "church" mean chiefly the building we worship in?	60	55	65	44
3. Are people who belong to one church better Christians than those who belong to another church?	98	37	89	77
Average	83	57	76	60

*Jesus*

1. Is Jesus still living even if we cannot see Him?	89	85	95	74
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<i>Questions concerning</i>	<i>College Town Hanover</i>		<i>Industrial Town Lebanon</i>	
	<i>Church Per Cent</i>	<i>Nonchurch Per Cent</i>	<i>Church Per Cent</i>	<i>Nonchurch Per Cent</i>
2. Did Jesus have troubles and temptations just as other people have?	89	88	82	79
3. Is the life of Jesus found in the first part of the Bible?	50	46	48	23
4. If Jesus visited in your home, would it be more important to feed Him and do many things for Him than to listen to what He had to say?	74	59	78	58
Average	75	69	78	58

*Christian Conduct*

1. If you met an enemy who was suffering would you pass by and not help Him?	94	68	95	89
2. Do you mind a lot if some one likes one of your friends better than you?	84	82	92	74
3. Should we dislike others if they have more things than we have?	99	85	100	87
4. Is it important to keep from all play and amusements on Sunday?	96	80	89	67
5. Do people of today know and understand God as well as the people of the Old Testament did?	45	57	43	49
6. Is a person saved when he keeps on doing bad things?	96	86	86	86
7. Is it a good definition to say, "A Christian is a person who reads the Bible and prays"?	84	60	61	49
8. Are there other ways we can worship God than by praying, singing, and taking part in the services of the church?	93	75	68	57
Average	85	74	79	70

*Sacraments*

1. Is the reason for keeping the Lord's Supper (Communion) that we cannot go to Heaven if we do not?	75	57	79	77
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Questions concerning	College Town Hanover		Industrial Town Lebanon	
	Church Per Cent	Nonchurch Per Cent	Church Per Cent	Nonchurch Per Cent
2. Does being baptized make sure that we are saved?	79	76	82	67
Average	77	66	80	72
<i>Religion in General</i>				
1. Have other religions than Chris- tianity any truth in them?	59	58	65	64

spoken through other books than the Bible, and there is 29 per cent less fatalism regarding death among the college children. More of the college group believe God loves those who do not worship Him, and that He may be found everywhere as well as in the church. There is considerably less uncertainty about religious ideas among the children in the college community.

Concerning prayer there is a consistent difference in favor of the college community, with the greatest differences among the non-church groups. Among the nonchurch children 20 per cent more in the college community believe it is important to pray oftener than morning and night, and 17 per cent more do not think God will pass them on an examination if they have not studied. There is no more uncertainty about prayer in the industrial than in the college community.

On questions about future life there is a small but consistent difference in favor of the college children, and slightly more uncertainty in the industrial group. The nonchurch children in the college town have a broader interpretation of "Church" than do the industrial children. On questions concerning Jesus there is more uncertainty among the industrial groups.

There is no difference between the communities as to the amount of uncertainty about questions of Christian conduct, and no significant differences among the church groups on attitudes about these questions; among the nonchurch groups the college children have

the advantage. Concerning the sacraments the children in the industrial community, both church and nonchurch groups, come nearer the clergy's standards, and there is more uncertainty about these questions among the college children. The industrial community also appears to an advantage on the question about religion in general.

TABLE III

COMPARISONS OF COLLEGE AND INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITIES ON  
RELIGIOUS IDEAS AND ATTITUDES

*Per Cent of Children Reaching Standards on Questions About*

	God	Prayer	Future Life	The Church	Jesus	Chris- tian Con- duct	Sacra- ments	Religion in General	Aver- age
Church children									
*Hanover	82	74	78	83	75	85	77	59	77
†Lebanon	79	69	72	76	78	79	80	65	75
Difference	3	5	6	7	-3	6	-3	-6	2
Nonchurch children									
*Hanover	77	68	68	57	69	74	66	58	67
†Lebanon	65	56	63	60	58	70	72	64	63
Difference	12	12	5	-3	11	4	-6	-6	4

\* college community

† industrial community

### Summary of Comparisons on Ideas and Attitudes

Table III shows more clearly the comparative trends between the two communities on questions concerning ideas and attitudes. The children brought up under the influence of Dartmouth college have a slight advantage in developing their religious concepts, but these advantages appear largely among the children who do not attend Sunday school or church. Among the children who do attend there is no significant difference between the two towns, indicating that the church plays an important part in equalizing the advantages in a democratic society. Industrial parents who give their children religious training through the church are providing them with

opportunities for spiritual development commensurate with those offered children of professional parents.

Among the nonchurch children the greatest differences are found in favor of the college group on ideas concerning God, prayer, and the teachings of Jesus. The children in the college town who do not attend church activities have an advantage over the nonchurch children in the industrial town, due probably to the more liberalizing culture of the college environment.

The advantage of the cultural atmosphere of the college community is not as great a factor in developing the mature spiritual life of the child as is the church in the same community. The church in the industrial town appears to do as much by way of forming a child's ideas and attitudes as does the church in the college town, and the church in both communities does a better job of religious education than does the home, school, or any other institution which has had its influence on the nonchurch children. If all children "are created equal," then the church plays an important role in maintaining that equality.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Out of This Nettle, Danger*, by HAROLD W. DODDS, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943, 57 pages.

This excellent book by President Dodds presents the social and educational philosophy of a liberal. In addition to his liberalism, Dodds brings to this book his background as a foremost social scientist. He contends that in the prewar decade we had made the great mistake of making security an end, and he insists that there are greater goals to be sought. In a society that has been hard on liberals, he does not hesitate to make the case for liberalism. He makes a very good case for it, too. His final and culminating chapter is entitled Education For Use. He has as his principal thesis that education, and particularly liberal education, "can and should be used."

President Dodds believes that liberal education and the liberal-arts col-

leges have a place, and an important place, in our society. He frankly admits their shortcomings in the past, but he insists that these shortcomings can and must be overcome. He believes that the colleges will learn some things as a result of the war. One thing they will learn is that education is meant to be used. Another is that given sufficient motivation students will work hard and like it. He believes that a liberal education should not only cultivate in a student a desire to apply his learning to the world in which he lives, but that it should also help him learn how to do it. This latter would be accomplished largely through participation. He believes that much of what is taught in the classroom remains in the "classroom compartment" of the student's mind, precisely because the student has never been taught how to use it. Thus President Dodds, without using the expression, becomes a great advocate of bringing the activities program to the college level. This is a fine and a challenging book.

*Development and Learning: The Psychology of Childhood and Youth in a Democratic Society*, by WILLIAM F. BRUCE and FRANK S. FREEMAN. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942, 552 pages.

This is a streamlined text in "educational psychology." Instead of presenting the subject after the fashion of most general psychologists, the authors have presented "an integration of results and an interpretation of recent scientific studies" in the field of "educational psychology" from birth through adolescence. In some quarters the volume will be considered as child and adolescence psychology rather than educational psychology. At any rate, the volume is especially suited to the needs of students in the New York State teachers colleges where first courses in educational psychology (by name) have been discontinued. In place of the more formal courses offered in past decades, a new integrated course built around the child and his activities has been introduced. The Bruce-Freeman volume serves this need.

*An Evaluation of Dental Health Literature*, by VERN D. IRWIN and NETTA W. WILSON; foreword by FRANK C. Cady. Saint Paul and Minneapolis: Bruce Publishing Company, 1942, 58 pages.

In this book, we find one of the salient reasons why the education of the public in dental health matters has left much to be desired. Dr. Irwin



and Mrs. Wilson are to be congratulated on their efforts in preparing and presenting their material in such a lucid and forceful manner. If the suggestions made by the authors are followed, dental health literature will become an effective medium for education of the lay public. We feel that it is the duty of every individual concerned with health education, in any field, to read this book.

The extensive scope of the survey of dental literature made by the authors is shown by the fact that it is based on material issued by State health departments, the American Dental Association, the United States Public Health Service, the United States Children's Bureau, and noncommercial organizations devoted to the promotion of child health. In addition, statements in books designed for the study of health, mainly for use in elementary and high schools, are included.

The study is based on statements made in the above publications. These statements are classified according to groups, such as anatomy and physiology, caries, children's teeth, diet, malocclusion, pathology, etc. Statements falling into these groups are given, together with comments. They are classified as facts, fallacies, or controversial statements. It is shown that less than half of the statements studied can be classified as facts. The authors rightfully point out that no statement on dental health should be made unless it is based on fact.

Besides the above, the authors find many statements in the dental literature studied that are contradictory, misleading, impractical, or too technical for the average layman to understand.

For the readers of this magazine, the points brought out regarding the adaptation of dental health literature for various groups of individuals should be highly interesting. This is particularly true of dental health material (rhymes, plays, books) for children. Here again, the authors' plea for accuracy in dental health literature is well known.

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